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Four lives in the British Empire, 1880-1930

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Imperial Enthusiasts and the Presentation of Empire in Britain: Four lives in the British Empire, 1880-1930

James Neil Watts

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers elite imperial discourse in Britain during 1880-1930 through the lives of four empire enthusiasts: Flora Shaw, Flora Annie Steel, Henry Rider Haggard and Perceval Landon. These individuals travelled and lived across the Empire but returned to Britain to promote their own passionate visions of it. Their place in British and colonial society meant that these individuals provoked reactions which are also revealing of the status and popularity of their ideas. Building on research into the informational and personal networks of empire, it works to refine our understanding of how the empire was promoted by imperial experts. Examining imperial experts and considering these four writers' side by side means that the analysis can consider how imperial communicators in literary and media circles promoted the empire in debates which some considered to be domestic. Using their personal and public writings it charts how they conceptualised the empire for which they worked and what benefits they saw in it, both for themselves and their British public. Each individual sheds light on a different theme and expression of imperialism: the media-political nexus and Greater Britain, the romanticisation of the exotic empire, the vision of settler colonies as part of land reform, and the militarist expression of empire and its links to the imperial frontier. Themes such as these, given the individual focus of this research, are complemented by, and refracted through, the notions of gender, race, class, and professional identities which each held. Broadly, this thesis is questioning, using the lives of some of its greatest enthusiasts, what the position of the empire was within elite discourse in literature and the media.

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Finally, thanks above all to my family, to whom this thesis is dedicated. Without your support I wouldn't be here, and without your inspiration, I would not have pursued History in the first place.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Signed: jnwatts Date: 14/05/2020

Contents

IMPERIAL DISCOURSE, PUBLICISTS, REPRESENTATION IN BRITAIN AND HOW IMPERIAL ENTHUSIASM SHAPED THE LIVES OF IMPERIAL ADVOCATES

This thesis examines imperial representation through 'empire boosters', individuals who worked to publicise and popularise notions about the British Empire between 1880 and 1930. Although partly an intellectual history, it also considers how these intellectual ideas were put into practice in the public arena. By looking at ideas of empire through the prism of four individuals, Flora Shaw, Flora Annie Steel, Henry Rider Haggard, and Perceval Landon, it considers how these ideas were used in elite imperially enthusiastic literary and media circles and promoted by imperial experts and communicators. These ideas encompassed arguments about the mission of Greater Britain, histories and empire, the benefits of rural life and the uses of pageantry and militarism in the hierarchy of empire. Historicising the arguments of these publicisers and advocates for empire elucidates the picture of elite imperial debate during this period. The four individuals selected for this study attempted to popularise certain notions of the empire from their own respective vantage points as journalists, novelists, travel writers, members of committees, and socially well-connected individuals. Each inhabited some or all of these roles and used this influence and position to proselytise for their own vision of empire.

The diverging perspectives and priorities of each individual with the cohesive framework of their shared interests and platforms provide the basis of this thesis. Each chapter considers one case study and an imperial theme which their life and work particularly speaks to. Most themes appeared, to greater and lesser degrees, in each of these individuals' lives. The selection of the individuals for this thesis was a difficult one and they have been chosen for their variety in expressing the attitudes of a section of British society concerned with imperial publicity. This variety is expressed through their differences in gender, class, and connections within Britain and the empire. This study considers Flora Shaw, the daughter of an Anglo-Irish peer, who became a journalist living in London, and then a colonial wife and campaigner in Nigeria and Hong Kong. She moved in powerful colonial circles and was known for her influence. It then turns to Flora Annie Steel, a novelist who, born in Middlesex, then lived in the Indian Punjab for 22 years before moving to Scotland, and then the South West of Britain, continuing to participate frequently in debates on women's suffrage and imperial issues. Henry Rider Haggard was a novelist and campaigner from rural Norfolk who retained a fierce attachment to 'the land' throughout his life, moving to rural South Africa for a time, he maintained his Norfolk connection at Ditchingham as he toured Britain reporting on rural issues. The final figure, Perceval Landon, was at once the most and least metropolitan figure. Born in Hastings

in Sussex and remaining, when in Britain, in the South East, he nevertheless spent most of his life touring the empire and its frontiers so that London was as much a base infrequently returned to as a home.

This thesis works to place each of these disparate individuals within their contexts as imperial campaigners and publicists. From varying backgrounds within Britain, they each focused on a different aspect of empire to explore and promote. From their perspectives in elite imperial circles in literature, the media, and colonial officials and writers, these writers worked to influence policy and shape the perceptions of sections of that elite. As their communications were largely pursued through organs like *The Times*, government commissions, specialist books and some lectures, their work would not be considered propaganda in John M. Mackenzie's sense of mass persuasion against their own best interests.[1] Instead these figures represent a more focused cohort of figures who worked within elite institutions to speak to other imperial enthusiasts and attempted to mould opinions of prospective settlers and officials, as well as those making colonial policy in the metropole. The contribution of this thesis lies in considering the elite discourse of empire and examining the credentials for who could be considered an imperial expert and communicator. Through this we can see where the influence of these imperial enthusiasts lay in areas of the media and government.

Individual case studies, by closely examining lives, can evoke the mental landscape of a period, revealing details of how people conceptualised the world around them that broader narratives iron out. This research is attempting to use four individuals to cast light on the wider perceptions that the British held about their empire. The contribution to this wider canvas relies on seeing 'individuals as *both* unique *and* as connected to social and cultural worlds and relationships that affect their life choices and stories.'[2] As with Matt Houlbrook's study of Netley Lucas, who offers a perspective through which to consider the anxieties of the class system evoked by the war, these writers provide a window onto the wider themes of the day.[3] It is this approach, albeit with more socially prominent individuals, that I am attempting to bring to the study of British conceptions of their empire in the late nineteenth and early

[1] John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 3; Kevin Robins, Frank Webster, Michael Pickering, 'Propaganda, Information and Social Control' in *Propaganda, Persuasion and Polemic*, ed by Jeremy Hawth-orn (London: Edwin Arnold, 1987), pp. 8-9; Simon J. Potter, *Wireless Internationalism and Distant Listening: Britain, Propaganda, and the Invention of Global Radio, 1920-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 13-14.
[2] Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L Pierce, Barbara Laslett, *Telling Stories: The use of personal narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), p. 10
[3] Matt Houlbrook, *Prince of Tricksters: The Incredible True Story of Netley Lucas, Gentleman Crook* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016)

twentieth centuries. The use of case-studies of prominent writers and campaigners allows a drawing together of the great narratives of history with the individual interpretations of lived experience. Similarly, 'the obstacles interfering with research in the form of lacunae or misrepresentations in the sources must become part of the account.'[4] The two narratives, the specific and the overarching, complement each other by focusing on how the personal narrative fits into the wider picture, whether agreeing with its general direction or not.[5] Individually they shed light on certain themes, but taken side by side they also elucidate the broader context of imperial communication in imperial Britain. They each had claims to imperial expertise, and they used this for similar ends, promoting their linked visions of empire. Considered together they form part of elite imperial discourse, one which sought to influence government directly through work with government officials and ministers and through debate in influential elite organs like *The Times*.

Contextualising and historicising the actions of the publicists for empire selected for this study invites consideration of the tendency towards 'self-fashioning' as Stephen Greenblatt put it, of themselves, and their self-perceived roles.[6] Life writing can place the individual's imperial publicity, advocacy, and boosterism, as part of their personal lives and worldviews. The writer, whether journalist, novelist, travel writer, or campaigner, was constructing a particular version not only of their actions, but of the stage upon which those actions are enacted, the empire. These individual versions were shaped by the prevailing discourses, habits and opinions of their society, although not to the extent that Greenblatt argues which 'involves submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self.'[7] Concern over the bias that this could represent is heightened in a methodology which is reliant on, in the first instance, only four viewpoints. This is where the linkages between the individual's own writings and the wider history of the empire is key, interweaving 'numerous historical objects into a single tapestry, showing how some objects explain others, which explain others, and so on.'[8]

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[4] Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things I know about it', *Critical Inquiry*, 20:1 (Autumn, 1993), p. 28.
[5] For example, Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Lives of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 7; Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (London: Harper Collins, 2007), p. xxxi.
[6] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980)
[7] Greenblatt, *Self-fashioning*, p. 9.
[8] Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 312. See for instance, although it is based more widely across British society than many microhistorical or life writing

The individuals in this study demonstrate a certain continuity in thinking and writing in the conception of empire before and after the First World War. They formed, in some senses, a generation formed by a more self-consciously imperial age.[9] Each individual actively publicised their notions and narratives of empire from the 1880s to the 1920s and each died in the latter half of that decade. Their views undoubtedly evolved over this period, but perhaps not as much as one might expect. That focal point of change, the First World War does not appear as a cataclysmic event in any of their lives, and certainly not as one which might shake their faith in the empire.[10] For many, the war shook notions of civility, their concern about the mechanisation of the future, and the manners and morals of the age. But each figure saw the empire in redemptive terms after the war, a continuation and strengthening of empire was the solution, not an alternative political structure. They were far from alone in this as the state, and various imperial organisations pursued new and increasingly elaborate forms of imperial propaganda through exhibitions and utilised new forms of technology such as cinema and radio.[11] For the individuals considered here, this maintained faith in the usefulness and moral benefits of the empire represented a continuance of pre-war thinking which seems to have been the case due to their age and relative lack of children. For this period, these individuals represent a specific strand of thinking, partially embraced by wider imperial enthusiasts and partly considered old-fashioned. Although the First World War slaughtered a vast number of the younger generations, each of the individuals here was over 45 when it began. More than this, these four individuals, for a variety of reasons, had very few children and none who fought in the war. Flora Shaw and Perceval Landon were childless. Flora Annie Steel had one daughter, Mabel. Henry Rider Haggard had four children, Jack, Lilias, Angela, and Dorothy and he was probably the individual most affected by the war. Nevertheless, Jack died of measles aged ten and therefore did not fight. Haggard and Landon were close friends of Rudyard Kipling, whose son John was killed at the battle of Loos in 1915, and this death was evidently seismic for Kipling and those close to him. But the war, viewed from a distance as it was for each of these

approaches, Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

[9] K Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations.' in *Essays on the sociology of knowledge,* ed by P. Kecskemeti (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952), pp. 276–323; Rachel Thomson 'Generational Research: Between historical and sociological imaginations', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 17:2, (2014), pp. 147-156

[10] Collini, *Public Moralists: 1850-1930;* John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 12 has also argued for the continuation of imperial strength and feeling during the interwar years.

[11] John M. Mackenzie, 'The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, ed by Judith Brown and Wm Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 214-6.

figures, did not shift their ideas of empire and the imperial mission. Instead, it fitted into their preconceived notions of imperial and national competition within Europe and beyond.

These individuals, and their interconnections, could make this thesis a loose group biography. They were all contemporaneous in literary or media circles and although there is no evidence of them knowing each other or collaborating, they do interconnect at various points. Perceval Landon and Henry Rider Haggard both knew Rudyard Kipling well, counting him as a close friend and probably knew each other, at least in passing. Landon and Haggard also both benefited from the imperial connections of Lord Curzon, with introductions at speeches and in pamphlets.[12] Flora Shaw and Flora Annie Steel were both members of the female writers' club the Lyceum in the early 1900s. All the individuals wrote for, or at least had letters which were published in, *The Times*, an important forum for imperial debate in the period. Perceval Landon and Flora Shaw worked for this paper for a number of years as well and so also knew Charles Moberly Bell. These latter two also published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*. They all crossed over at the institutions at which they spoke, Henry Rider Haggard and Flora Shaw both gave speeches for the Royal Colonial Institute at differing dates, albeit two decades apart. These connections indicate that these writers were all moving within similar literary circles in Britain. Although none of the individuals were close, or could even reasonably be termed friends, their work and social circles intersected as they formed part of an imperially enthusiastic section in British metropolitan society. Conservative politics also gives this group cohesion despite differences of opinion. Rather than a close group biography, this thesis is more concerned to consider the intersections and differences of their outputs, motivations, and ideals of imperialism.

Each individual formed their conceptions of British imperialism in childhood and as they came of age in the 1880s and 1890s. Generationally, Flora Shaw, Flora Annie Steel, and Henry Rider Haggard, born 1852, 1847 and 1856, respectively, came to prominence in the 1880s, a British public space with increasingly self-conscious imperial ideas.[13] Perceval Landon was born fifteen years later than these figures, 1869, and began his career around 1900. Nevertheless, his writing, upbringing, and worldview were alike to the other figures in the thesis. Each had their years of greatest prominence in the 1890s and 1900s. Haggard and Steel were established

[12] Perceval Landon, 'Basra and the Shatt-Ul-Arab', *Journal of the Society of the Arts*, vol.63, no. 3257 (April 23, 1915), pp. 505-519; Henry Rider Haggard, *The After-War settlement & Employment of Ex-servicemen in the Overseas Dominions: Report to the Royal Colonial Institute* (London: Saint Catherine Press, 1916)

[13] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, 26, (Spring, 1989), p. 19.

authors from the late 1880s onwards, Shaw was Colonial Editor from 1893 and Landon garnered fame and a permanent job from his association with the Younghusband expedition in 1903-4. It is tempting to see these figures as representative of a shift, an ultra-imperial generation who lived in the time of 'high imperialism.' They formed the boosters and advocates for an imperial worldview. But it is crucial not to over-determine imperialism's appeal. Although imperialism was rising as a facet of many popular ideologies in these decades, this was far from unchallenged. For comparison, the historian and Irish Nationalist, Alice Stopford Green was born in 1847, the Liberal Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith was born in 1852, and 1856 was the year that the playwright George Bernard Shaw, the trade union leader Tom Mann, and the Labour MP Keir Hardie were born. None of these figures had a conception of imperialism close to the individuals in this thesis. Generations are not deterministic. There were numerous other strands of thought, some strongly anti-imperial, in these years and the empire did not make up the totality of British identity, even at its height. It is also worth noting, especially as this worried many of the figures in this thesis, that these years of the greatest imperial propaganda were also the years of the most strongly vocalised imperial critique.[14]

These case studies have each been chosen for the light they shine on one aspect of imperial debate, publicisation, and representation within Britain. Flora Shaw, as an imperial evangelist, reveals the connections between press and politics and particularly how explicitly one influenced the other in mentality and practical outcomes. Flora Annie Steel, as someone who wrote fiction and non-fiction about India over a considerable period, is examined for the presentation of Indian history and the romanticisation of its presentation within Britain. Henry Rider Haggard's career from the late 1890s was devoted to land reform and the promotion of a living link with the land as the crux of England's special character and place in the world. This is considered for its presentation of the 'primitive virtues' of imperialism, masculinity and pastoralism in the destiny of the British. As a roving journalist and travel writer, Perceval Landon is used to examine the presentation of Britain's place in the world both within and beyond its formal empire. The glorification of military heroes and the commemoration of military victories and defeats provided a compelling narrative of expended blood and treasure on the empire, and a similarly compelling narrative for its preservation.

[14] Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes towards Colonialism in Africa, 1895-1968* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 2; Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 4-5

Their similarities in outlook binds this group together. Although they took different paths towards empire boosting, they each shared this as a common goal. The selection of individuals gives a southern English outlook, although Flora Annie Steel lived in Scotland and Wales, the South East was the base for her literary activities. Similarly, each character is bound together in their political and religious identity. Their outlook was Conservative and Unionist, each figure often wishing and attempting to take these imperial ideologies in certain directions, and staunchly, if reflexively, Church of England. None of these individuals used religion as a basis for their belief in imperialism, although it formed an integral strand in the worldview of each. In each chapter themes interweave as each character publicised empire and their vision of it in different ways.

Case Studies

Flora Shaw (1852-1929)

Born into a traditional upper-class Anglo-Irish military family, Flora Shaw's interest was piqued by the empire in her brief foray into charity work in London in the 1880s. Her biographer, Ethel Moberly Bell, claims that she saw the empire in redemptive terms, with largely empty lands waiting to free the destitute and cramped Londoners and give them land to stand up by themselves.[15] Flora Shaw began to act on this interest in empire in 1887 with her series of articles for W. T. Stead at the *Pall Mall Gazette* about 'Zebehr Pasha' whom she visited weekly for four months during 1886.[16] Al-Zubayr Rahma Mansur Pasha had gained notoriety in Britain due to his reputation as a slave trader and General Charles Gordon's recommended successor as governor of Sudan. Believing that her articles had been instrumental in his release from Gibraltar and return to Cairo in 1887 redeeming his slave-trading reputation, this was Shaw's first taste of campaigning journalism.[17] This entrée into journalism soon brought Shaw to Egypt as a correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* where

[15] Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 37. See, Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway, 'Crusader for Empire: Flora Shaw/Lady Lugard' in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. By Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992); Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway, 'Journalism as active politics: Flora Shaw, *The Times* and South Africa' in *The South African War Reappraised*, ed. By Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Dorothy O. Helly, 'Flora Shaw and the Times: Becoming a Journalist, Advocating Empire', in *Women in Journalism at the fin de siècle: Making a name for herself* ed. by Elizabeth Gray (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) There is also a notable section in Jonathan Schneer's *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 133-146

[16] Bell, *Flora Shaw*, pp. 52-3.

[17] 'Zebehr Pasha at Gibraltar: A Lady's interview with the Captive Chief', *Pall Mall Gazette*, June 28th 1887; Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 55.

she met not only Evelyn Baring, Resident Consul in Egypt, but Charles Moberly Bell, soon to become the managing editor at *The Times*. In 1890 Shaw began writing for *The Times*, but it was not until the success of her 'letters' series from a tour of South Africa and Australia in 1892-3 that she impressed the editor and the proprietor enough for them to accept a woman on the permanent staff. Shaw was staunchly imperialist as Colonial Editor, promoting causes linking the Dominions and West Africa with a close focus on economics and high politics. She became embroiled in the Jameson Raid of 1895-6 as a liaison between Cecil Rhodes and the Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain. In the subsequent investigation in 1897 she barely escaped, by way of a deft appearance in front of the Parliamentary Select Committee, revealing the true extent of her involvement. Shaw resigned from the paper in 1900 and married Frederick Lugard in 1902 accompanying him in Nigeria (1902-06) and Hong Kong (1907-12) when her health permitted. Lady Lugard, as she became, devoted herself to research on Nigeria, producing *A Tropical Dependency* in 1905 and giving lectures on imperial themes in London. She also acted as a lobbyist for her husband in Britain promoting his schemes in Nigeria, using her social contacts to try and persuade Winston Churchill, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Harcourt, and others in positions of power. Shaw campaigned for the rights of those in Ulster as the issue of Irish Home Rule again appeared on the agenda in the years before 1914. Upon the outbreak of the First World War, Lady Lugard was closely involved in providing relief and welcome for the Belgian refugees using accommodation intended for the outbreak of civil war in Ireland. In 1919, Frederick Lugard was appointed High Commissioner of Nigeria and Shaw again played her supporting role, lobbying for him in Britain. Lady Lugard was given a DBE in 1916 for her work for the Belgian refugees and she died in 1929.

As this overview of her life makes clear, Flora Shaw held a notable position in the media at the close of the nineteenth century. Her position as an article writer from 1887-1893 for the *Pall Mall Gazette, Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* and then as Colonial editor of *The Times* from 1893-1900, provided a platform from which she could proselytise. The circulation of *The Times,* although it still had an influential elite readership, 'was apparently shrinking in the era of popular imperialism' as it competed with new publications.[18] Although it did worry about its circulation, *The Times* and Shaw herself were more concerned with speaking to the right influential people. The focus on high politics and economics in the colonies column and her 'letters' series was an acknowledgement of this readership. Shaw was convinced that the

[18] John M. Mackenzie, 'The Press and the dominant ideology of Empire' in, *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain,* ed. by Simon Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 26

colonies represented a profitable outlet of capital and an opportunity for the settlement of the second sons of the British elite. Shaw did enjoy periods of fame, or infamy, especially during the investigation over the Jameson Raid and her articles were generally well regarded in circles desirous of colonial news. But, despite her prominence, Shaw has been relatively neglected in the histories of the nineteenth century press, not even meriting an entry in the index of Stephen Koss's two volume, thousand page, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, or David Finkelstein's *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press*.[19]

Flora Annie Steel (1847-1929)

Flora Annie Steel was a novelist and journalist. Born into the middle class in Middlesex in 1847 the family moved to Forfarshire in Scotland when she was ten. She married Henry William Steel in 1867 and moved, almost immediately, out to India with him as he took up a post in the Indian Civil Service. They were posted to Ludhiana, in the Punjab, and moved to Dalhousie and Kasur. Flora Annie Steel and her husband were often remote and in Kasur they were the only Europeans. This isolation encouraged Steel to engage more with the local community in the Punjab, the state where Henry William Steel was based, and she began gathering folk tales from the villagers, published as *Wide-Awake Stories* in 1884. This was the beginning of her literary career which would not really take off until *On the Face of the Waters* in 1896, after her return to Britain. But whilst still in India she worked as an inspector of girl's schools across the Punjab and used her twenty years of experience in the country to write, with her friend Grace Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Cook & Housekeeper* in 1888. Her husband retired in 1889 and they moved back to Aberdeenshire. Here she began her writing career properly. This was usually based on personal knowledge and remembrance of India and she travelled back to Kasur in 1894, alone, to do research for her novels. She remained committed to educating the British public about India for the rest of her life, writing fiction and journalism.

Steel was not a prolific journalist when she returned to Britain, being more concerned with writing novels, committee work for the Lyceum, an all-women writer's club which she and Flora Shaw attended, and the Women's Writer's Suffrage League. Steel became part of the New Vagabond's Club in 1897 in London and this, coupled with the Lyceum in which she held

[19] Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain Volume One: The Nineteenth Century* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1981) Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain Volume Two: The Twentieth Century* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1984); David Finkelstein (ed.), *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume II, Expansion and Evolution 1800-1900* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019)

the Chair of the Board of Authors in 1906, gave her a place in London's literary society.[20] Her journalism, focused on India, continued sporadically throughout the 1900s and 1910s. These writings generally reflected her concern about the extent to which Britons knew about their Empire in India. In the 1900s she wrote popular Indian histories and contemporary books as a way of increasing public awareness of India and Britain's role in it.[21] After the publication of *On the Face of the Waters*, in 1896 and the fame it brought, Steel was often labelled the 'female Rudyard Kipling' a reputation she often played upon during her life in speeches and journalism.[22] Although she was always at the conservative end of the spectrum on any consideration of gender equality, Steel, claiming to have privately supported the cause for some years, publicly backed the campaign for suffrage from 1907. The reproduction of a letter from Steel to Frances Balfour in *The Times*, argued that 'I have hitherto held aloof from all organisations for the furtherance of women's suffrage. Though the justice of the claim and its eventual success seemed to me alike indubitable, I thought neither the women nor the world ripe for the change.'[23] In the following year Steel became the President of the Women's Writers Suffrage League and remained so until 1919. In her autobiography, she described herself as a 'vehement suffragette' who considered that 'Woman has suffered sadly' although, she does so in the context of feeling slightly uneasy watching a man doing 'woman's work' in cleaning up 'the litter of newspapers and magazines.'[24] Steel did not often explicitly link this suffragism to her concern for women in India, or the notion of an imperial international sisterhood as Antoinette Burton has argued, although she did sometimes acknowledge the idea.[25] Nevertheless, many of the issues, around duty and responsibility that Steel linked suffrage to, were an integral part of her imperialism.

[20] Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 503-4.
[21] Mortimer Menpes and Flora Annie Steel, *India* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1905); Flora Annie Steel, *India Through the Ages: A Popular and Picturesque History of Hindustan* (London: E.P. Dutton, 1908); Flora Annie Steel, *A Dramatic History of India: 29 Playlets* (Bombay: K & J Cooper, 1911)
[22] See for instance, "The Indo-British Association." *The Times*, 9 Aug. 1918, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4dg2. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017. Also see, Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and Literary Cultures of South Asia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 167.
[23] Frances Balfour and Flora Annie Steel, "Woman Suffrage." *The Times*, 17 Apr. 1907, p. 11. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/55gc42. Accessed 2 Aug. 2017.
[24] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 222.
[25] Antoinette Burton, *The Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994)

Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925)

Henry Rider Haggard primarily features in this thesis for his numerous writings on land reform, imperial emigration, and its links with the physical and moral health of the British race. Urbanisation, and its well-publicised effects on health led to widespread worries about its effect on the population.[26] Debates about the almost axiomatic belief in the healthiness of rural life combined with the reality of agricultural poverty in this period led Haggard to advocate land reform within Britain as well as pointing to the fertile expanses of the settler colonies. Haggard used his position as a well-known adventure novelist to give his views on this prominence as he undertook research trips, campaigns, and committee work on agricultural issues.

Rider Haggard inhabited a literary and public writing sphere, and his popularity gave him a public voice. A member of the Savile club and later the Athenaeum, Haggard remained a prominent novelist for longer than many have considered, although he could not match his popularity of the late 1880s and early 1890s. Perhaps the best-paid novelist in Britain from 1887-1894, as Philip Waller has noted, earning £10,000 per year, his earnings had fallen to a still-respectable third of this by 1905. This still gave Haggard a considerable audience, and he was renewed for audiences by cinema from the late 1900s onwards. Particularly suited to film by the visual spectacle of his works, this greatly boosted his earnings and introduced him to a new generation.[27] Like Rudyard Kipling whom he knew well and considered a close friend, or from the other end of the political spectrum, H. G. Wells, Haggard used the fame garnered from his novels to ensure a political and public ear for his arguments.[28]

As he aged Haggard wished for a more serious great cause. In his autobiography, *The Days of My Life*, written in 1912 but not published until after his death, he derided novel writing as the 'mere invention of romance upon romance.' He discovered instead that his 'great subject lay to my hand, that of the state of English agriculture and of our rural population.'[29] The emptying of rural England and the rise of the cities was associated for Haggard with a decline in physical and moral health of Englishmen. Beginning with surveys of what he already knew, gardening and farming on his own estate, Haggard tested the waters with publications on agriculture. He then moved onto a wider survey in 1901-2, *Rural England*. This took him across twenty-seven counties in England as well as the Channel Islands. It spanned a thousand pages on the state of

[26] Alun Hawkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England' in *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*, ed by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd, 1986), pp. 85-112
[27] Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p. 12.
[28] Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, pp. 845-848 & 916
[29] Henry Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life: An Autobiography Vol. II* (London: Longmans & Co, 1926), p. 131.

English agriculture, intended to be of use to policy makers, campaigners, and highlight the plight of English agriculture. At this stage, Haggard was principally proposing alleviating the lot of the labourer on the land through government policies on taxation and possibly a light import duty. His views became more interventionist and linked to the empire as he progressed. In 1905 and 1910 he undertook work for the Salvation Army which shifted his views on assisted emigration as well as the viability of settling people on land to farm across the empire. Between these two works, Haggard served on the Committee for Coastal Erosion and Afforestation from 1905-8, the latter part being added by his special request from an interview with Lloyd George, allowing him to consider the land more widely.[30] Haggard then considered how British agriculture could again be aided by examining Denmark in 1911, a net exporter of food without protection. All of this work made him an acknowledged expert on agriculture and the questions surrounding it, notably the prevailing anxiety concerning urbanisation. In 1912 Haggard began discussions with the government and others about a Commission to consider the question of how emigration to the empire could assist with living on the land. This began as a Royal Commission, was interrupted by the war, and ended up being undertaken for the Royal Colonial Institute in 1916. Rider Haggard continued working on novels as well as promoting land reform and assisted emigration, which came to fruition after the war, but his participation did dwindle in these years. In the 1920s Haggard helped to found, with Rudyard Kipling, the Liberty League, to oppose international Bolshevism, but he mainly retired to Ditchingham and carried on his writing and agricultural interests.

Perceval Landon (1869-1927)

Perceval Landon studied Classics at Oxford and then trained as a barrister in the 1890s. Landon was originally meant for a career at the bar and he began training at Inner Temple in 1895, and aspiring lawyer with an interest in heraldry.[31] With the outbreak of the South African war, and relying upon private and family means, Landon became a newspaper correspondent.[32] Between the years of 1900 and 1925 he spent most of his time traversing the British Empire, and far beyond its notional limits relying on the safety of informal empire and his British passport, reporting back for the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*. This travelling took him from South Africa in 1900 for *The Times* and India with the Prince of Wales in 1903

[30] Norfolk record Office, MS 4694/8

[31] Perceval Landon, 'THE ARMS OF ARCHBISHOP ROTHERHAM'. *The Academy*, May 18, 1895; p. 428

[32] Jacqueline Beaumont, '*The Times* at War, 1899-1902' in *The South African War Reappraised*, ed by Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 71

for *The Time*s and *Daily Mail*. Landon then accompanied the Younghusband expedition to Tibet from which he achieved his greatest fame, publishing a book from it. Despite the attention this book received, he was still unable to obtain a permanent position at *The Times* and instead joined the staff of the *Daily Telegraph* with whom he remained until his death in 1927. He travelled extensively in India publishing a travel account, *Under the Sun* in 1906. In 1908 he travelled through the Middle East and parts of Central Asia, visiting Samarkand, Iraq and the Persian Gulf as well as Egypt and the Sudan in 1910. He wrote widely on this until the First World War when he reported as a war correspondent on the Western and Italian Fronts, visiting on trips with his close friend Rudyard Kipling as well as from the peace conference in Paris. He then reported on the Prince of Wales' visit to India in 1922, the peace conference in Lausanne and then visited China and Nepal, returning home in 1925.[33] Landon became a recognised authority, in Britain, on 'The East' and communicating what this considerable generalisation meant to his audience.

As a travelling foreign correspondent, with links to politics, Landon presents scope for interpreting how a staunch Conservative with wide international experience, viewed the British Empire geopolitically. Having a strong interest in the competitive power politics of the day, Landon represented the empire in terms of its militaristic presence and geopolitical sway.[34] He was involved, through the *Daily Telegraph*, in organizing a commemorative parade, dinner, and history for the veterans of the Indian war of 1857. During 1907 he also, in the vein of celebrating military endeavour, acted as the secretary for Lord Curzon's campaign to commemorate Robert Clive and the establishment of the British empire in India for the Clive Memorial Fund. Throughout all of his transient work, writing and living across and beyond the empire, Landon's writings emphasised an image of the empire in competition with Russia and Germany and linked this representation with his Tory imperialist and military circles.

[33] No full biography exists of Perceval Landon (1869-1927) and no ODNB entry. The best broad overviews of his life remain the entry in W*ho was Who, 1916-1928*, pp. 602-3. Also see his obituaries in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, the former the paper he was with from 1905 onwards, "Mr. Perceval Landon." Daily Telegraph, 24 Jan. 1927, p. 7. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http:// tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgJm7. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. "Mr. Perceval Landon." Times, 25 Jan. 1927, p. 14. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/ tinyurl/8vJHp9. Accessed 29 Jan. 2019. Perceval Landon, *Under the Sun; impressions of Indian cities* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1906)

[34] Steve Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Thomas Metcalf, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2005) This links with work done on the colonial and imperial heroes by Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Berny Sebe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: British and French Colonial Heroes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Imperial Enthusiasts: The Reception and Representation of Empire

These four case studies are primarily concerned with considering how the British Empire was considered and conceived within Britain between 1880 and the late 1920s. It examines the representations of the British Empire by imperial enthusiasts in the press, literature, and politics. These representations played out within messy and often contradictory contexts, received by different readers in different ways for different purposes. As a concept, imperialism, within the strongly argumentative context of public debate in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century, could take on many divergent meanings, especially during and after the South African War.[35] Imperial initiatives in Britain were also filtered through local neighbourhoods and their own civic culture and imperial interests.[36] Newspapers have often appeared to be the natural source for considering this public debate, albeit with certain limitations. Newspapers purported to represent public opinion, citing the number of readers who surely would not read opinion with which they disagreed, but this pretension was often mocked.[37] Concern over a misleading press in a post-truth age is not new. As Simon Potter has remarked of journalism, many 'frequently worried that newspapers disseminated lies and misrepresentations, exacerbating conflict.'[38] From this, I am working to consider the representations propagated by imperial advocates, and their prominence within wider British debate. For imperial publicists, imperialism took different forms and they each advanced their own interpretations. These had many commonalities, but each prioritised the aspects they desired.

For this thesis it is important to consider the place of wider imperial propaganda and imperial discourse. Although the figures in this thesis largely did not engage in mass imperial communication, except for some of Haggard and Steel's writings, this is crucial to the questions of elite imperial discourse and audience for these figures. Considering how this kind of imperial writing was received has been beset with difficulties. Work on this reception has sometimes been in danger of becoming enmired in a morass of uncertainty over the level of British interest

[35] Andrew Thompson, 'The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, (Apr, 1997), pp. 147-8.
[36] James Thompson, 'Modern Britain and the New Imperial History', *History Compass*, 5/2 (2007), pp. 458-9; Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, 'The City and Imperial Propaganda: A Comparative Study of Empire Day in England, Australia, and New Zealand c. 1903-1914, *Journal of Urban History*, 42:2, (2016), p. 378.
[37] James Thompson, *British Political Culture and the Idea of 'Public Opinion', 1867–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 63.
[38] Simon J. Potter, 'Jingoism, Public Opinion, and the New Imperialism', *Media History*, 20:1, (2014), p. 35.

in the empire.[39] Much of this work has, as has been noted, usually been far stronger on the production than the consumption of imperial enthusiasm.[40] In the years before Bernard Porter's publication of *Absent-Minded Imperialists,* many located this interest in the empire as something more pervasive in British society earlier in the century than many had previously argued linking it with abolitionism and missionary activities.[41] John M. Mackenzie inaugurated this mode of considering the Empire within Britain. He was arguing against an older notion, often derived from J. R. Seeley's work, *The Expansion of England,* that England had built up an empire in a 'fit of absence of mind' and that therefore the majority of the British people need not be tarnished with the brush of imperialism.[42] 'Imperialism and its related reverence for royalty and other elements of established authority' was, in Mackenzie's work, 'a core ideology in British society between the 1880s and the 1950s.'[43] Mackenzie spearheaded an approach to domestic British history that mandated the inclusion of the empire as a principal component in that story.[44] The empire became a pervasive force throughout society and 'if it has seemed invisible or non-functioning to many historians, it is simply because it was always there, a continuing tradition which inevitably underwent changes over time, but which contained more continuities of expressions than have been recognised.' [45] Earlier historiography had generally seen imperial enthusiasm as episodic, flaring into life at times of colonial interest such as the Jamaica rebellion or the Boer War. But Mackenzie argues that this interest simply represented 'the periodic blazing of a continuing fire'.[46] This viewpoint has been reinforced through works on the empire in a variety of guises in Britain through sexuality, empire and imperial politics, its place in schools and elsewhere.[47]

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[39] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*; Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004)

[40] James Thompson, 'Modern Britain and the New Imperial History', pp. 458-9.

[41] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English imagination 1830-67* (London: Polity, 2002)

[42] J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England Two Courses of Lectures* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1883), p. 8. See for example, Henry Pelling, *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1979), pp. 82-100*; Imperialism and Popular Culture,* ed by John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986)

[43] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 11.

[44] This has led to the Studies in Imperialism series which now runs to over 130 volumes.

[45] John M. Mackenzie, 'Passion or indifference? Popular Imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries' in, *European empire and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy,* ed. by John M Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 82.

[46] For this more episodic reading see, *Perspectives of Empire: Essays presented to Gerald S. Graham,* ed. by John E. Flint and Glyndwr Williams (Harlow, Longman, 1973); Mackenzie, 'Popular Imperialism in Britain', p. 60.

[47] *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World,* ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) J. A. Mangan, *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society* (London: F. Cass, 1992)

In Porter's reading, imperialism and awareness of the empire was marginal for most of the period 'to the extent that many of them, probably a majority, were almost entirely ignorant of it for most of the nineteenth century.'[48] In schools, theatres, in the street, Porter argues that 'most Britons were certainly not bound to be imperialists, or to be interested in the empire, or even to be very much aware of it for most of the nineteenth century.'[49] The context of the imperial nature of society is integral to Porter's argument. 'It will not do simply to look for 'imperial' evidence without being aware of what lies around it' he argues, seeing much of the argument for an imperial British society to be too preoccupied by actively seeking the evidence desired.[50] Domestic British imperialism was, in Porter's view, drowned out by concern and interest in a wide variety of other issues. Porter raised some crucial concepts about the limitations of imperial fervour in Britain and his scepticism towards types of imperial evidence is an important methodological warning. Nevertheless, Mackenzie challenges Porter's interpretation of the prevalence of empire in English schools, theatres and novels. He contests, in an argument that has had great currency, that the empire constituted a considerable part of these even if they were not the main focus, the unconscious imperialism of simple privilege. Others, such as Antoinette Burton, were vitriolic in their response, accusing Porter's work of being 'a balm, if not a fully-fledged propaganda instrument' for Anglo-American imperialism and denigrating the work as not 'worth arguing either with or about.'[51] Countering the attacks on his book for, 'exonerating or excusing imperialism in some way', Porter accuses his more vituperative critics of a logical fallacy in assuming that so great an empire as the British must have implicated most of her citizens, contending that associating his work with imperial apologists is 'a heavy burden of guilt for an academic tome to bear.'[52] Moving past this, Nicholas Owen and Erik Linstrum have argued that we need to look more carefully at modes of imperial knowledge and consider whether this knowledge implies support or if we need to consider the ambiguities of consumption in more detail.[53]

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[48] Bernard Porter, 'An Imperial Nation? Recent works on the British Empire at Home', *The Round Table*, 96:389 (2007), p. 226

[49] Porter, *Absent-Minded Imperialists'*, p. 37. Also see, Bernard Porter, 'Edward Elgar and Empire', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 29:1 (2001), p. 26

[50] Porter, *Absent-Minded Imperialists*, p. 13.

[51] Antoinette M. Burton, 'The Absent-Minded Imperialists: What the British Really thought about Empire (Review)', *Victorian Studies*, 47:4 (Summer, 2005), p. 628.

[52] Porter, 'Further Thoughts'. p. 104.

[53] Nicholas Owen, '"Facts are Sacred": *The Manchester Guardian* and Colonial Violence, 1930-1932', *The Journal of Modern History*, 84, (2012), p. 646; Erik Linstrum, 'Facts about Atrocity: Reporting Colonial Violence in Postwar Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 84:1 (2017), p. 109; John L Hennessy, 'By Jingo! Methods for Researching Popular Imperialism', *History Compass*, 17:5 (2019); John L Hennessy, 'Imperial Ardor or Apathy?

Andrew Thompson's work, *The Empire Strikes Back?* takes something of a middle road in the dichotomy between Porter and Mackenzie. Thompson argues that the place of the Empire in British politics from the mid-nineteenth century, although important and indeed the dominant strand in discourse at some points, had been exaggerated. Thompson sees the empire as a force which 'compelled change and restrained it, propelled progress and fortified tradition' depending on which area of British life you were looking at. But Thompson also argues that 'disentangling the Empire from the 'international' is equally problematic' as 'the dividing line between pride in the empire and pride in Britain's broader position as a world power (of which an imperial role was but one manifestation) is by no means always clear.' Similarly, considering the audience for imperial propaganda, Thompson argues that interest in news stories about empire, which undoubtedly increased could also be an indication simply of 'a thirst for mere sensationalism' and it mattered little whether the escapades related took place in 'Europe, the empire or the wider world.'[54] As such, Thompson's book generally complements Porter's work, as Porter acknowledges. It is properly conscious of the limitations of the evidence for imperial interest and enthusiasm and how this can often be attributed to different causes than those the New Imperialists generally adduce.[55]

Troy Boone has similarly disputed the hegemonic status of the imperial imaginary for all in Britain, especially amongst the working classes. Boone emphasises that production did not equal reception and much imperial propaganda was ignored by its intended working-class recipients. The torrent of publications, speeches and societies connected to imperialism is seen instead by Boone as an 'attempt' to inculcate this attitude and as a 'never-finished ideological construction project.'[56] Similarly, when considering elite imperial discourse, we have to consider that participation did not equal influence, campaigners could be humoured, tolerated, or diverted as well as opposed. Haggard was sometimes seen as tediously over-emphasising the potential for assisted emigration, and Shaw could be humoured in her reception in the Colonial Office, presumably due to her husband's position in Nigeria, particularly during the First World War.[57] The intent of imperialist writing is not the same as its position and state

A Comparative International Historiography of Popular Imperialism', *History Compass*, 73:5 (2019) provide a good overview, with a useful international approach to this debate.

[54] Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the mid-nineteenth century* (Harlow: Pearson education limited, 2005), p. 5.

[55] Porter, 'An Imperial nation?' p. 231

[56] Troy Boone, *The Youth of Darkest England: Working-Class Children at the Heart of Victorian Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

[57] The Weston Library, The University of Oxford, MSS Lugard, 4/1/3, 14, 17, 18, 19, 28, 42, 50 and 68; The Churchill Papers, Churchill College Cambridge, Char 10/11/22, Flora Lugard - Winston Churchill, 8th May 1906; Norfolk record Office, MS 4694/8; Waller, *Writers, Readers, Reputations*, p. 912

within the minds of Britons, and in examining this writing we must be careful not simply to fall for, and re-inscribe, the propaganda of imperialists.

A focus on individuals allows more nuanced questions to be asked of these convulsive issues in the fields of British and imperial history. These figures worked in and alongside the novelisation of news, and particularly imperial news, which Andrew Griffiths has detected in the last third of the nineteenth century.[58] Landon and Haggard contributed to this through some of their articles and particularly Haggard's novels, but their work I am considering here largely spoke to influencing policy on a more elite level. This debate about the extent and intent of imperial writing is important because it provides the basis on which this study builds. Fiction, the media, and political campaigning were linked in the vicarious experience of empire which these figures promoted. They wanted an elite within Britain to take the empire more seriously in their calculations for investment, the emigration of members of their families, and to work as officials within it. They sometimes attempted to broaden the audience of this, as with Steel's histories, and some of Landon's reporting, but the intent of these writers was to include the empire in largely sectional domestic debates. They were attempting to sway and counsel policy makers in the Colonial and India Offices, investors in the financial and merchant elite, and imperial societies within Britain.

Imperial representation and argument were pursued primarily through the press, but it had specific corollaries in issues such as histories of Britain and the Empire, and concerns over urban degeneration, emigration, and rural life. By considering individuals, their texts, and their intended audiences, it questions the aims and success of imperial publicists. This focus on campaigners and journalists or novelists who devoted their lives with enthusiasm to empire, bypasses the problem that Porter has pointed out, that this debate 'has become somewhat enmired, in recent years, with all of us churning up the same old patch of mud repeatedly.'[59] Imperial publicists were attempting to promote a specific vision of empire, and their success and place within society can be revealing of this imperial awareness. Julie Codell has worked to decenter the analysis of metropolitan imperial discourse by integrating the dissent and differing voices of prominent Indians within Britain to reveal their own vision of empire.[60]

[58] Andrew Griffiths, *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism and the Fiction of Empire, 1870-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 2-7.
[59] Bernard Porter, 'Popular Imperialism: Broadening the Context', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39:5 (2011), p. 844.
[60] Julie F. Codell, 'Decentring and Doubling Imperial Cosmopolitan Discourse in the British Press', *Media History*, 15:4, (2009), p. 371

Nevertheless, as her work reveals, voices which might be assumed to be dissenting were often co-opted into the dominant discourse which promoted imperialism. As imperial publicists worked within a nexus of the media, literature, and politics in both domestic and imperial terms, they reveal the working realities of the debates they were attempting to shape, and the immediacy of imperial issues in Britain. All of the figures in this study turned to, or frequently worked for, the press to publicise their case. The studies of Alan J Lee, Jean Chalaby, Martin Conboy, and particularly Simon Potter and Chandrika Kaul, have elucidated the role of the press in promoting imperialism, as well as the excitement of foreign adventures, to sell papers.[61] This study is asking what the place of imperial publicists and enthusiasts within society and how their views, more strident on empire than many, chimed within British media and literary circles. Considering how this enthusiasm was articulated reveals certain themes which were privileged in their conception of the empire. These are: imperial identity and its 'primitive virtues', both in its link to living upon the land, and for Britons everywhere in the empire, the ideologies of empire such as Greater Britain and militarism, the use of history to legitimise it and other forms of empire, and the question of how gender, in its approach to masculinity and femininity, shaped their praise of empire.

In this manner, we can go past the question of the prominence of the empire and ask how Britons, when they thought of empire, conceived of it. Rider Haggard came of age in the colonies, escaping the influence of his father and making a success of his life in South Africa.[62] To Flora Shaw, the British Empire was the great cause throughout her life, and it was also the stage upon which she gained her independence and expressed her individuality.[63] Flora Annie Steel saw the British mission in India as an integral part of their national work and claimed a personal expertise due to her time there.[64] The British Empire, or just beyond it, was where Perceval Landon spent most of his adult life travelling and extolling its virtues, it was his career and his life's work. These questions link into their own areas of historiography as they each impinge on different domestic debates.

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[61] Potter, 'Jingoism, Public Opinion, and The New Imperialism', pp. 34-50; Alan J Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855–1914* (London: Croon Helm, 1976); Martin Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London: SAGE, 2002); Jean K Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880–1922*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

[62] Pocock, *Rider Haggard*, p. 14.

[63] Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway, 'Crusader for Empire', pp. 92-3.

[64] Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries: India in the British imagination, 1880-1930* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 33

Imperial Virtues and the Importance of the Rural, Farming, and the Land

The precise place and magnitude of 'character' in British society, as well as its relationship to the empire, is complex and uncertain. Character was evidently of acute importance to many imperial enthusiasts in terms of what made the British the pinnacle of a governing race. But for these individuals this was far from Stefan Collini's notion of character.[65] Imperial virtues valorised stoicism and the repression of emotions. Emotional indulgence was confined to a deniable private sphere and silenced as the performative image of imperial man was pushed forward. These virtues formed an ideal for the British, and all the peoples of the empire, to look up to and obey.[66] In the empire, this notion of character became sharper and is more naturally linked to Bradley Deane's notion of 'Imperial Barbarians.'[67] The grit and 'primitive virtues' required by those settling in the empire or upholding it in India, were paramount. This notion runs through the imperial writing of each of the individual case studies, and although it tended to be a gendered, masculine notion of character, it had numerous strictures and exhortations for the place of the imperial woman. The most pervasive of these was possibly what Mary Procida phrased as 'Married to the Empire' in her study of women in India.[68] Women were in the empire alongside their husbands and were supposed to be similarly devoted to it, and work as unpaid labour. As an overarching narrative, the Empire was not merely for men, but for a certain class of gentlemen who remembered their character better than either the "natives" or many white people, as '*only* gentlemen could make good colonial officials.'[69] The prevalence of this conception was a shaping context for British imperialism, perhaps most broadly noted in Cain and Hopkins' notion of 'Gentlemanly Capitalism'.[70] Notions of character formed an imperial and British ideal to which they individually aspired, but also one which they exhorted

[65] Stefan Collini, 'The Idea of 'Character in Victorian Political Thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 29-50; Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Thought Life in Britain, 1850-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), esp. Ch.3, pp. 91-120; Peter J. Cain, 'Character, Ordered Liberty and the Mission to Civilise: British Moral Justification of Empire, 1870-1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40:4 (2012), pp. 557-578; Peter J. Cain, 'Empire and the Languages of Character and Virtue in later Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, 2, (2007), pp. 249-273; Kathryn Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character* (London: IB Tauris, 1990)

[66] Thomas Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 212-3.

[67] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 2

[68] Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)

[69] Original emphasis. Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jabbow, *The Africa that Never Was: Four centuries of British writing about Africa* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), p. 81.

[70] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), pp. 43-50

others to follow, citing specific exemplars. But, although each of the case studies in this thesis speaks to the theme of character as a major theme in a way, in the empire, the character demanded was not, in their terms, particularly 'gentlemanly'. This ideal had variants, emphasising a harsher imperial grit and primitive ideals, or a more aristocratic ideal of leadership. But it emphasised the frontier, the ability to live independently and on the land, defending yourself and the imperial ideal. Two of the individuals in this thesis, Flora Shaw and Henry Rider Haggard, strongly linked this notion to living on the land and rural life, a life separated from the decadence of the cities, fostered a more moral existence.

The conviction that city living was leading to unhealthiness and, in extreme cases, the degeneration of Britain, as suggested by theories of evolution and race biology, was gaining traction in the late nineteenth century.[71] "Urbomorbus" was, as James Winter has noted, a term coined by the late Victorian surgeon, Sir John Cantlie for the state of degeneration he found amongst Londoners in 1885.[72] Cantlie was asking whether there was a literal form of 'city disease' as an urban phenomenon rather than simply one confined to certain trades. Offering a cure for this, in 1892, Benjamin Ward Richardson, citing a Roman authority, argued that 'agriculture provides aliment for health' and that 'as agriculture declines, perfect and typical health declines.' By the time Shaw and Haggard were writing in the 1890s the idea that the health of the body and the land were linked, 'as if the two were one and the same' was common, albeit not undisputed, in imperial circles.[73] These concerns particularly exercised Rider Haggard, and to a lesser degree Flora Shaw, in their campaigns to promote settlement across the empire. Haggard was a country man, born and bred in Norfolk where he traced his ancestry and lived in later life. In South Africa, he again, went to the land, setting up as an ostrich farmer after his time as an aide to Henry Bulwer. This rural perspective and persistent disdain for the urban, points to the breadth of imperialist enthusiasm beyond London-based elites.[74] As such it appreciated the multiplicities of presentations of the empire in Britain. One criticism that has,

[71] Bill Luckin, 'Revisiting the idea of degeneration in Urban Britain 1830-1900', *Urban History*, 33.2 (2006), pp. 234-252. In a wide literature, Dan Stone, *Breeding Supermen: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar* Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002) and Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge, 1997) indicate the breadth and popularity of eugenicist thought in Britain, especially in imperialist circles from 1880 until the First World War and beyond.

[72] James Winter, *Secure from Rash Assault: Sustaining the Victorian Environment* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999) see John Cantlie, *Degeneration amongst Londoners: A lecture delivered at the Parkes Museum of Hygiene*, January 27, 1885, p. 24.

[73] Benjamin Ward Richardson, 'Health in Relation to Land' in *Land: Its Attractions and Riches*, ed by C. F. Dowsett (London: The "Land Roll" Office, 1892), p. 13.

[74] Catherine Hall's, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–67* (Oxford: Polity, 2002) forms a notable exception in its focus on Birmingham.

very fairly, been levelled at much 'New Imperialism' history is the homogeneity and monolithic nature of the imperialism which it has assumed was made of the mutually constitutive nexus of 'home' and 'empire'.[75]

Contemporary beliefs held that living closer to the land was good for the health, racial and physical, of the settlers as well as contributing to the character which rural life promoted. Nevertheless, many considered that the empire was detracting from the proper care of Britain, the 'foreign adventures' wasting British gold. In his autobiography, Haggard writing to H. H. Asquith just after the publication of Rural England in 1902, argued 'to my mind, to lunge everlastingly into foreign adventure after foreign adventure, however difficult and costly, and all the while to neglect our own land so cruelly is a madness.'[76] There is a crucial distinction in empire in this as some decried tropical empire, but praised and defended the settler colonies. But for other imperialists the empire had to encompass all its colonies. Shaw promoted the settlement of Australia and Canada as well as extolling the benefits of West Africa and South Africa to the readers of *The Times*.[77] This link to the land was, for Shaw, connected to the grandeur of the imperial mission, mastering land and peoples, to make them work for the British Empire. The notion of the degeneration of the race in cities has been noted in popular fiction as well as academic work at the close of the nineteenth century.[78] Although in Rider Haggard's fiction the British tended to be used as a contrast to the degeneration of other races this theme of degeneration was echoed insistently, in his non-fiction writing. In *Rural England*, *The Poor and the Land*, and his report on *After-War Settlement*, Haggard insistently reiterated that a life lived on the land would regenerate the health of city-dwellers, a connection with the soil cleaning away the stains of the city.[79]

The celebration of the rural, often in the historical guise of the 'yeoman' was widespread, although it was a sectional, primarily southern English notion whilst civic, industrial, and urban

[75] Thompson, 'Modern Britain and the New Imperial History', pp. 458-9.
[76] Haggard quoted this letter in his autobiography, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 150.
[77] This is a consistent theme of her 'Letters' series from South Africa and Australia and published in 1892-3 in *The Times.* From the mid-1890s she was engaged in promoting the forcible economic development of West Africa as well. These are discussed in detail in Ch.2. below.
[78] Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, 1848-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 155-175.
[79] Henry Rider Haggard, *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in the years 1901 & 1902. Vol. I*. (London: Longmans Green, 1906); Henry Rider Haggard, *The Poor and the Land being a report on the Salvation army colonies in the United States and at Hadleigh, England, with scheme of national land settlement and an introduction* (London: Longmans, 1905); Henry Rider Haggard, *The After-War Settlement & Employment of Ex-Service Men in the Overseas Dominions: A Pamphlet for the Royal Colonial Institute* (London: Royal Colonial Institute, 1916).

pride flourished in cities like Manchester.[80] Proclaimed as the backbone of England, a figure who embodied reclaimable freedoms and strengths, the yeoman was remarkably adaptable in late-Victorian discourse. In *Rural England*, Haggard depicted the traditional English freeman, linked to hearth, home, and land. But Haggard was not depicting a perfect bucolic England. Haggard's writings were motivated by the danger he perceived independent British farming to be in. The preface to the 1906 edition bemoaned the lack of action to aid farmers and harangued the powerful who considered the land as 'first and foremost a retreat for sportsmen and a tabernacle for the givers of fashionable parties.'[81] Haggard encouraged reform, such as the establishment of an agricultural post and the lessening of taxes, to aid British farming. It was only gradually that he came to argue for assisted emigration if it was desired by the individual. Haggard was persistently wary of the Tariff Reform campaign, arguing that a small amount of protection could benefit the British population, but that it was in the main, a distracting 'Marsh light' stopping more useful reform.[82]

Nevertheless, Haggard's arguments concerning character had a strong imperial dimension. These came in two main forms. The link with the land was an integral part of the British character, 'the best of its population is, and always has been, bred upon the land, and men are more than money' as Haggard put it.[83] Maintaining and sharpening British character was an integral aspect of empire. Secondly, Haggard slowly concluded that the land of the empire, particularly in Australia and Canada, where they would not immediately come into competition with black labour, should be used to settle men back upon the land. This was especially the case as Haggard argued that the birth rate in cities was too low, and there was not enough land in England.[84] The land, and a life lived upon it, was totemic for Haggard, symbolising virtue, healthy independence, and strength.

The pastoralism which Haggard evoked so often was also a component, albeit to a lesser degree, in the writings of Flora Shaw. The emigration which Shaw sought to promote was not to the cities, but to the prairies of Canada and the wide spaces of Australia. Flora Shaw asserted

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[80] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) For an opposing view, see Peter Mandler, "Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 7, 1997, pp. 155–175. Also see Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, And the Politics of the Land, 1880-1914* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society, 2008)

[81] Haggard, *Rural England Vol. I.*, pp. vii- viii.

[82] Haggard, *Rural England Vol. I*, p. xxxviii.

[83] Haggard, *Rural England Vol. II*, p. 552.

[84] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 38.

repeatedly that the character of the British would be improved on the land, cultivating and farming away from the cities. Although she noted worries about the effect that prolonged isolation could have on English gentlemen in the Australian bush, the experience of empire was seen as a beneficent one.[85] In Shaw's estimation, ten years farming in Australia 'will certainly have produced a better result than can be hoped for by many of the younger sons of clergymen and other professional people as the outcome of ten years work.' It was hard work and virtue that the colonies both engendered and demanded for its wealth; 'there are fortunes to be made' she primly informed her readers, 'there are none to be lounged into.'[86] This was a championing of the frontier mentality, the privations of the rawer societies in Canada and Australia in particular, would shape better gentlemen for imperial rule. For Shaw, past the pastoral aspects of this argument, the key effect which empire had on character was in the responsibility of leadership and authority it conferred on the British.

Although often less prominent than in the writings of Flora Shaw and Rider Haggard, the importance of imperial self-sacrifice was pervasive in the literature of this era. Flora Annie Steel used her histories of India largely as a way of exploring imperial virtues and which figures, Indian and British, had it. Steel's idol was John Nicholson whose vigorous activity and sacrifice during 1857 was repeatedly praised. 'If ever there is a desperate deed to do in India, John Nicholson is the man to do it' as Steel puts it in a quote from an anonymous 'comrade in arms' in both *On the Face of the Waters* and *India Through the Ages*.[87] Nicholson had decisively acted during an imperial crisis and this is what Steel praises, largely ignoring unease about his brutality, and maniacal fervour and action. He sacrificed all to preserve the British Empire in India, and that was the main point. Exemplars and imperial heroes served a rhetorical point for Steel. Nicholson and Clive, on the front line of a racially based and more paranoid empire than the one that was supposed to prevail in the settler colonies, were more fervent and adventurous than the measured ideal of rationality and calm superiority that Collini and Cain detect in 'Ordered Liberty' and in much Victorian and imperial literature.[88]

The importance of imperial virtues was also evident in the writings of Perceval Landon. As a travelling correspondent touring frontier lands with Middle Eastern, Indian or other

[85] 'Letters From Australia.' *The Times*, 5 Apr. 1893, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZeS7. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[86] 'Letters From Australia.' *The Times*, 7 Jan. 1893, p. 12. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZc36. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017
[87] Steel, *Face of the Waters*, p. 388; *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 358-9.
[88] Collini, 'Idea of 'Character'', p. 34; Cain, 'Ordered Liberty', pp. 559-60

intermediaries, Landon was concerned to project an image of imperial power to his English readers. His focus on military heroes such as Clive and Nicholson, like Steel, was part of a greater idolisation and canonisation of imperial heroes.[89] Idols provided lessons in how to act, exemplars with a focus on endurance, heroism, and striving for the good of Britain glorifying 'character rather than achievement, qualities embodied rather than historical services rendered.'[90] Figures such as David Livingstone, Captain Scott, General Gordon, and Robert Clive all had complicated afterlives in which their deeds, missions, and motivations were presented and lionised.[91] Attempting to annex this idolisation to an increasingly politically Conservative vision of empire, Landon was part of the movement to burnish and revive the reputations of figures such as Robert Clive and John Nicholson. Through his account of 1857, a campaign with Curzon and others for the memorial dinner for veterans of that conflict and the memorial fund for Clive, Landon pursued this canonisation of imperial heroes as object lessons for those in Britain. But Clive was a problematic exemplar, especially as the reputation of the British in eighteenth-century India was often rapacious and exploitatively amoral, although this was being rewritten in the late nineteenth century. Perceval Landon was Secretary to the Clive Memorial Fund and led a fundraising campaign for statues to Robert Clive in London and India to commemorate the victory of Plassey and correct the neglect into which this great figure had fallen in public memory.[92] Clive's reputation as an imperial hero reached its apogee in the first decade of the twentieth century as he was celebrated for his achievement and its legacy in British India. Clive's life was refined and he was celebrated as a 'Great Man',

[89] Max Jones, Berny Sebe, John Strachan, Bernard Taithe and Peter Yeandle, 'Introduction: Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France', in *Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Cultural legacies of the British and French empires* ed by Max Jones, Berny Sebe, John Strachan, Bernard Taithe and Peter Yeandle (London and New York: Routledge, 2016) p .7. Richard Goebelt, 'The Memory of Lord Clive in Britain and beyond: Imperial hero and Villain' in *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed by Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 142-5 Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley, 2011) Berny Sebe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: British and French Colonial Heroes* (Manchester, 2013)

[90] Geoffrey Cubitt, 'Introduction: Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives' in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed by Geoffrey Cubitt, Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 9.

[91] John M. Mackenzie, 'The Iconography of the Exemplary Life: the case of David Livingstone'; Max Jones, ''Our King upon His Knees': The Public Commemoration of Captain Scott's last Antarctic Expedition' in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed by Geoffrey Cubitt, Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 84-104 & 105-122; Max Jones, ' *'*National Hero and Very Queer Fish*'*: Empire, Sexuality and the British Remembrance of General Gordon, 1918–72', *Twentieth Century British History*, Volume 26, Issue 2, (June 2015), pp. 175–202

[92] The original call was made by William Forwood and Curzon then took up the call and organised the committee. Forwood, William B. "Lord Clive." Times, 30 Mar. 1907, p. 11. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl. galegroup.com/tinyurl/67qcL7. Accessed 12 Mar. 2018. CURZON. "The Commemoration Of Lord Clive." Times, 8 Apr. 1907, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, http:// tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8ytP40. Accessed 4 Feb. 2019.

lionised for his achievements rather than just his character.[93] The turn of the century has been considered the height of notions of the 'stiff upper lip' and it was this that Landon's publicisation of character could be linked to, especially in the histories of 1857, directing and memorialising righteous rage.[94] In the writings of Perceval Landon, notions of what it took to uphold the empire formed a base, coupled with a focus on pageantry and hierarchy, for readers to emulate, but also to know their place within.

The Visitor to the Empire as Imperial Communicator in Britain and the links between Politics, Literature, and the Media

Empire boosters often relied on their travels or life within the empire to act as a badge of expertise in Britain. In making this claim, however, there was always a tension between the amateur and the professional, the armchair writer and the traveller, on the question of who had the authority to claim expert status in exploration, science, and history.[95] These individuals did not claim academic expertise except in a few cases such as Flora Lugard's history of Nigeria in 1905, but they did claim a level of authority which they used to legitimise the publicising of their own visions and interests of empire. They relied on their presence and travels in empire, recording the facts on the ground and their own judgments of sociological, cultural, and economic phenomena, a powerful and recurring rejoinder to 'armchair' writers. They were witnesses which gave their accounts weight, it was also, a personal, lived, and direct experience. Conceptions of empire could derive from individual's own experiences, their economic relation to empire, and for an idea of the totality of the imperial position, from numerous writers, usually journalists and travel writers they themselves had read. Novelists, travel writers, and imperial journalists, considered as experts to varying degrees, acted as imperial communicators for much of the population.[96] This position of imperial communicator is also the primary interest

[93] Goebelt, 'The Memory of Lord Clive', p. 144. Cubitt, 'Introduction', p. 9.
[94] Stephen Heathorn, 'How Stiff were their Upper Lips? Research on Late-Victorian and Edwardian Masculinity', *History Compass*, 2 (2004) BI 093, p. 4.
[95] Dane Kennedy, *The Last Blank Spaces: Exploring Africa and Australia* (Harvard: Harvard University press, 2015), pp. 62-95; Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarian, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 199-200
[96] The position of the travel writer has been increasingly scrutinised, see, Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008) is the classic imperial example. This has inspired numerous responses linked to rhetoric and travel writing such as David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993); *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* ed. By Steve Clark (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999) Tim Youngs, 'Introduction: Filling the Blank Spaces' in *Travel writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*, ed by Tim Youngs (London: Anthem press, 2006), pp. 1-18.

in considering these figures side-by-side. Each had their own claim to expertise the reception of this, and the position that they enjoyed, is indicative of how imperial information was transmitted and spread by a variety of actors.

Travellers, imperial officials, novelists, and journalists were each trying to explain and present varying experiences of empire to the British public, but they do share a viewpoint as this translator in Britain.[97] Flora Annie Steel relied on the colonial capital she had accrued through twenty years living in India alongside her husband in the Indian Civil Service. Steel used this expertise and position to lend authority to her public debates in the letter pages of *The Times*, as well as her novels and journalism on India.[98] This level of lived experience, over twenty years in Steel's case, as well as connection to the administration of empire, was not essential to claim authority on the empire in Britain. Flora Shaw and Rider Haggard relied on more transient experiences living, or travelling, in the empire. Haggard spent seven years in South Africa, but his writing about farming and settlement relied upon subsequent, far shorter, trips to empire to report on current conditions. This was partially due to the domestic nature of much of his argument. As an imperial communicator within Britain, Haggard's arguments concerning emigration were based upon regional and national agricultural conditions. His argument about the empire relied upon the situation within Britain. Flora Shaw relied upon even shorter periods of time in the empire, and these tended to be tours, such as the eighteen months she spent in South Africa, Australia and Canada in 1892-3. Deliberately fashioning herself as an observer, someone whose expertise came from their detached position, wide view, and expertise. Perceval Landon relied on tours of the empire, and its borderlands, in similar ways to make his case for expertise. For Landon, these tours were more common, and he settled into a routine for twenty years of travelling and returning to write and speak on the empire. As such, each of the selected individuals were people who knew both areas of the empire and the metropole itself, so they could act as translators to the British public and elites.

Each of these individuals occupied a certain place in Britain and the empire. They were usually transient and separate in each, often in social circles of other colonials within Britain, but using this position to interpret and present an empire they passionately advocated for. This position

[97] For a scathing attack on David Spurr and the problems of eliding different historical and geographical forms of travel writing see, Dane Kennedy, 'Imperial History and Postcolonial History', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24:3 (1996), pp. 345-363

[98] Grainne Goodwin, 'I was Chosen out as Oracular: The Fin de siècle journalism of Flora Annie Steel', *Women's Writing*, 18:4, (2011), p. 506. Grainne Goodwin, 'An Adamless Eden': counter-publics and women writers' sociability at the fin de siècle through the experiences of Flora Annie Steel', *Women's Writing*, 22:3, (2013), p. 445.

as translator is one which must be borne in mind when considering their writings on empire. Were they shaped by their experience of empire, developed and challenged by foreign experience, or, as G. K. Chesterton remarked of Charles Dickens in his 1906 biography, was 'the Englishman abroad […] simply the Englishman at home?'[99] Each individual assumed this role as traveller and communicator for a reason, whether to promote rural life, knowledge of India, interest in the settler colonies, or awareness of British competition with other powers. But the extent of influence on each individual, and particularly Steel and Haggard, from their experiences in empire and the peoples they interacted with there should not be disregarded. Imperial writing and discourse was not uni-directional and those writing on empire in Britain were often insistent that the empire, and the peoples of it, had something to teach Britain. This is not to imply an equality of power within these networks of interchange, simply that the direction of influence was not, and could not, be completely one way.[100] Their position as expert was part of their self-conscious identification with empire, drawn from their experiences in it, and it affected their writings, representations and pronouncements as imperial advocates and enthusiasts. This position of 'imperial communicator' and their status has been a neglected aspect of scholarship on travel writing, which needs to pay more heed to the reception and position of attributed expertise accorded to writers on imperialism.[101]

Travel writing, politics, journalism, fiction, and campaigning on any number of issues did not happen in a vacuum. The individuals in these case studies occupied and participated in a nexus at the heart of empire which was continually reimagining and debating what the empire was and could be. Mackenzie has argued that there was a trend at the end of the nineteenth century 'towards growing press engagement with empire' and more reporting on 'bread and butter happenings' in the Dominions started emerging in the 1880s and 1890s.[102] The founding of the *Daily Mail* in 1896 often represents a date for this imperialisation of the press. Kennedy Jones, Alfred Harmsworth's business manager and one of the founding journalists of the paper, writing in 1919, argued that 'we discovered at once an abounding desire for knowledge on all

[99] Quoted in Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, p. 299. See James Buzard, 'Portable Boundaries: Trollope, Race, and Travel', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 32:1, (2010), pp. 5-18

[100] Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London: Verso, 2019), p. 42. David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial subjects', in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed by David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 8-16

[101] This reaction was varied and was often strongly linked to the author's other standings, whether in politics, official posts, exploration or literature. Helen Carr, "Modernism and Travel (1880-1940)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing, Cambridge Companions to Literature*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 73-4 hints at, but does not really explore this issue.

[102] Mackenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', pp. 23-4 & 30-1.

matters affecting the empire', although this should be viewed with circumspection.[103] Andrew Thompson argues that 'parts of the mainstream newspaper press' were imperialised, but also subscribes to Simon Potter's Imperial Press System thesis, arguing that for some journalists, the empire was 'their bread and butter'.[104] Within this media and literary sphere Philip Waller has pointed out the importance of welcoming domestic contexts for foreign and imperial ideas. He argues that the openness of the late Victorian era to foreign ideas should not be over-emphasised as news of abroad was usually only welcomed when it reinforced British notions.[105] Nevertheless, Mackenzie emphasises that imperial propaganda was 'one area of official propagandist activity which seemed to be generally acceptable' although as something state-directed, it was rare, 'largely because it was unnecessary.'[106] But this also should not be over-emphasised or extended. As Julie Codell reminds us 'empire was by no means unanimously applauded by British citizens', propaganda was there to bring them round to support a certain view. The press could be double-edged sword and 'was as capable of eliciting sympathy for colonised and resistant natives as it was for inciting public support for repression-as-retaliation.'[107]

Imperial engagement for various publics happened in the interplay between politics, the media, fiction, writings on various topics from history to land reform, and it is in this public argument that debate for empire happened. As Griffiths has argued there was considerable intersection between the New Journalism, New Imperialism and imperial fiction. These forms of writing intersected, drawing on themes and content from each to create an engaging style of writing, pioneered by W. T. Stead.[108] These writings competed and drew upon each other. Richard Toye and Martin Thomas have considered how this rhetoric in newspapers, parliamentary debates, imperial associations, and by 'self-styled imperial experts', should primarily be considered in terms of clashing opinions, revealing the differences in that often too-homogenised phrase, imperial discourse.[109] Public opinion, which politicians and journalists were frequently trying to gauge, before the First World War should instead be considered, as it was at the time, 'a product of deliberative debate, emerging organically from the clash of often strongly held

[103] Kennedy Jones, *Fleet Street and Downing Street* (London: Hutchinson & Co. 1919), p. 146
[104] Thompson, *Empire Strikes Back?*, pp. 26-7.
[105] Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations*, pp. 298-9
[106] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 2.
[107] Julie Codell, 'Introduction: Imperial Co-Histories and the British and Colonial Press' in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, ed by Julie Codell (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), p. 18.
[108] Griffiths, *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism and the Fiction of Empire*, pp. 5-15.
[109] Martin Thomas and Richard Toye, *Arguing about Empire: Imperial Rhetoric in Britain and France, 1882-1956* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 7-8.

beliefs.'[110] The prominence of the empire in the media, and in this conversational nexus, becomes, then, largely a question of supply and demand in two forms. Comparatively, how much imperial news was there to European news? And, was the imperial propaganda there to try and encourage greater engagement with the empire which was seen as lacking, or was it there because it was wanted and viewed as a good way of selling papers?[111] The debates, writings, and rhetoric employed, reveal a closely connected world, especially in the imperial metropolis, but extending across Britain and the imperial world. Careers in journalism and campaigning across the empire thereby dovetail into Alan Lester's accounts of imperial networks creating a notion of British identity as a globalising phenomenon through the concepts of 'networks, webs and circuits'.[112] A predominantly London-based correspondent, such as Flora Shaw, was connected to the empire in numerous ways, through correspondence, flows of information in her newspaper, government contacts, and travel through it. The increasing interconnectedness, especially that afforded by the improvements in communications technology, often made these global networks seem ubiquitous. Although it is vital to note, as Simon Potter has, that there were 'various factors that acted to restrict the ways' of the spread of quick communication; the increased interconnectedness of empire could be an illusion.[113]

Flora Shaw's role at *The Times* allows consideration of the comparative prominence of the empire in the media by someone widely recognised as an imperial expert. As Colonial Editor of a paper which was used to privileged access to power, she capitalised on her position. These links cast a certain light on the imperial links of journalists.[114] Nevertheless, this privileged access to government, as Shaw herself demonstrated during the Jameson raid, must be taken into consideration when making the link between the individual and broader newspaper world.[115] The links between press and politics were nevertheless close during this period. Viewed as the main form of mass media for communication with public opinion, elected politicians were well aware of the power wielded by journalists. Flora Shaw demonstrates the

[110] James Thompson, *British Political Culture*, p. 15.
[111] Simon J. Potter, 'Introduction: Empire, Propaganda and Public Opinion' in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: reporting the British Empire c. 1857-1921,* ed. by Simon Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 17-18.
[112] Alan Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and networks: Geographies of the British Empire' *History Compass*, 4:1 (January, 2006), p. 124.
[113] Simon J. Potter, 'Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century British Empire', *Journal of British Studies*, 46:3 (July, 2007), p. 627.
[114] Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press system 1876-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
[115] Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 182-3

role politicians wished journalists to play as she acted to shape opinion, from a strongly imperial and Rhodesian viewpoint, of the tensions in South Africa. But this use also placed her in a position of influence. Shaw was a frequent visitor to the Colonial Office during Chamberlain's tenure and her knowledge of official circles is apparent from her correspondence as well as exasperated comment by officials and journalists.

Similarly, Perceval Landon represents a strong point of connection between journalism and politics. Close to Lord Curzon for much of his life from the Younghusband expedition in 1903, supporting him in writing whilst he was Viceroy of India and beyond, Landon was wedded to a conception of politics and empire that was deeply conservative. The Imperial Press System is often considered to be largely white colonial in its interchange of correspondents and news.[116] Nevertheless, as Chandrika Kaul has argued, the position of India as a journalistic hub, vastly increased in importance after 1880.[117] In tandem with the growing pageantry of the durbars and Curzon's re-imagining of British and Indian history, the appetite for news and tales of India increased, particularly after 1900. [118] Landon fastened onto this from his accompaniment of the Younghusband expedition to Tibet and his most successful book came from this link to officialdom and politics.[119] For politically active journalists like Perceval Landon, the links between press and politics were maintained and strengthened as a matter of course, their aims were the same.

For novelists as well, the political ramifications of their novels, as much as their active political campaigning, was palpable. As Griffiths has noted, it is remarkable how many novelists of empire in the late nineteenth century like Haggard and Steel were active in empire as soldiers, special correspondents, or officials. This practical experience had implications for their views and positions as interpreters of empire.[120] Fiction often had a serious argument and the transition from novel-writing to campaigning on social and political issues was a common, if often derided, one.[121] Imperial exports of books, particularly to Australia and India the first and second most important colonial markets at the end of the nineteenth century, marked the range

[116] Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 1.
[117] Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, p. 60.
[118] Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India' in *The Invention of Tradition* ed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 (1983)), pp. 165-210; Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, pp. 99-100.
[119] Perceval Landon, *Lhasa; an account of the country and people of central Tibet and of the progress of the mission sent there by the English government in the year 1903-4; written, with the help of all the principal persons of the mission* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1905)
[120] Griffiths, *The New Journalism*, p. 12.
[121] Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, pp. 845-6 & 878-80.

and influence of British novels within the empire.[122] Flora Annie Steel and Henry Rider Haggard were both known throughout the empire for their writings, something which was crucial for their 'expert' status and their later campaigns. *Allan Quatermain* was celebrated as an archetypal inspiration for settlers and imperially minded politicians. *On the Face of the Waters* was hailed for its supposed historical accuracy and realistic depiction of the Indian mind. Haggard could serve on committees because of his celebrity and Steel was a prominent voice in the suffrage movement again due to the popularity of her fiction. Nevertheless, both of these characters could also be neglected, their views side-lined as those of a mere boy's adventure novelist and the 'female Rudyard Kipling'.[123] Authorial fame and celebrity do not necessarily mean that anyone in power will listen, or take seriously, any views expressed. Perhaps due to this, Haggard and Steel were prone to performatively parading their research and knowledge in the prefaces and introductions to their books, establishing themselves for the sceptical as experts.[124] There are important differences in these performances, largely concerned with gender expectations as Haggard was far more assertive, and Steel preferred modesty and allusion. Nevertheless, novelists, who often moved from novels to campaigning, did have an influence on how public opinion was formed.

Ideologies of Empire: Greater Britain and Historical Destiny

Belief in a Greater Britain was both a racial statement and a proposed solution to the contemporary anxiety about British decline, especially through the 1890s and 1900s. Unable, without the empire, to compete in size or population with the vast potential of the USA or Russia, proponents looked to the settler colonies to support Britain. Promoters of Greater Britain were, as Daniel Deudney has remarked, 'part of a transnational effort to grasp the origins and implications of the emerging global-scope system.'[125] The world was beginning to seem smaller and so the physical distance between Britain and the colonies no longer seemed as significant. James Belich has argued that, for a time, Charles Dilke's 'Greater Britain' did

[122] Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 93-4

[123] This was evidently gendered in Steel's case, see Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and the Literary Cultures of South-East Asia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 167-171; Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, pp. 903-5

[124] Haggard, *Rural England*, pp. xxx-xxxi and the preface to Steel, *On the Face of the Waters* as well as appendices A and B which reproduce historical letters.

[125] Daniel Deudney, 'Greater Britain or Greater Synthesis? Seeley, Mackinder and Wells on Britain in the global industrial era', *Review of International Studies*, 27:2 (Apr. 2001), pp. 190-1. Amanda Behm, *Imperial History and the Global Politics of Exclusion: Britain, 1880-1940* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 34-5

exist' as the colonial link between 'Home' and 'Abroad' was so closely conceived.[126] Conversely, Daniel Gorman has argued for an attempted 'imperial citizenship' which in his view failed, leading to his assertion that the settler colonies were by the 'end of the nineteenth century largely autonomous nations'.[127] Nevertheless, what was crucial to two of the individuals considered here was the idea of Greater Britain, an ideology extensively researched by Duncan Bell.[128] Tying the Dominions closer to Britain through federation was a prominent idea in the late nineteenth century, supported by historians such as J. R. Seeley and J. A. Froude, and politicians like Lord Rosebery and Joseph Chamberlain.[129] The white colonies were conceptualised as new Englands across the sea and, in opposition to the Crown Colonies and India, viewed as extensions of the mother country in people and culture. Both Flora Shaw and Rider Haggard could be linked to the idea of Greater Britain. Rider Haggard's views on the benefits of the land chimed well with supporters of Greater Britain who denigrated the detritus that came from 'the foul cesspools of the city' as Lord Brabazon, President of the National Association for Promoting State-Directed Colonisation, put it.[130] Nevertheless, the prominence of this debate is easily exaggerated; practical plans for creating a 'Greater Britain' were never put into place and it was probably never seriously contemplated by many people.

This conception of the empire as 'Greater Britain' was related to the ways in which the space of the empire was conceived, especially in the division between centre and periphery. John Darwin has argued for a conception of the 'Empire project' that is characterised by the 'chaotic pluralism of British interests at home and of their agents and allies abroad.' Focus on the agency of the periphery is a 'useful corrective' to excessive emphasis on the 'official mind' in Whitehall. Darwin sees an empire of 'beachheads and bridgeheads, half-conquered tracts, half-settled interiors' rather than a settled system.[131] Alan Lester, whilst agreeing with this switch of focus from metropole to the empire, has argued for a networked vision of empire. This would largely transcend the dichotomy of metropole and colony and examine the linkages between different parts of the empire. This 'networked conception of imperial interconnectedness' is useful in considering the empire in the round, 'within the same analytical frame, and without

[126] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the rise of the Anglo-World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 209
[127] Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 148.
[128] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
[129] Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain*, pp. 108 & 128.
[130] Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain*, pp. 47 & 53.
[131] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 3.

necessarily privileging either one of these places.'[132] Although these networks can overstate the cohesion of these settler links and the empire as a whole, as well as occluding the power differentials between different areas of empire, they are a useful way of considering the interchange of people, ideas, and writings throughout the empire.[133] Networks were often linked with the media as, 'communication media did not merely underpin the metropolitan-peripheral relationship, they dynamically shaped its evolution.'[134] This picture of an interconnected empire, a Greater Britain, was reflected in the lives of these four individuals. Flora Shaw, Perceval Landon, and Rider Haggard toured the empire extensively and linked metropole and colony frequently in their writings, although this tended to be focused on one section of the empire in each case. Flora Annie Steel was focused on one section of the empire and draws out the links between Britain and the Raj.

It is unclear to what extent debates over Greater Britain included any working-class participation. Was Greater Britain something which filtered into a wider consciousness in Britain through a feeling of imperial identity? Jan Ruger has argued that a trend of insularity, particularly in the debates over the Navy in the years before the First World War, was prominent.[135] Nevertheless, the importance of the Empire as a successful symbol of Conservative patriotism, with foreign and imperial policy as a central point of identity should not be underestimated. Militarism, and pride in the British Army and Navy was a central part of Edwardian imperial identity.[136] The identity of the British as imperial adventurers was tied to notions of its heroes, as has been argued, but it also linked to the notion of British success and fitness to rule and govern in a white man's world.[137] The British Conservative political elite were undoubtedly keen to foster a more imperialist national identity to combat this

[132] David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial subjects', in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed by David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 11.
[133] Thompson, 'Modern Britain and the New Imperial History', p. 459. Alan Lester, 'Spatial Concepts and the Historical Geographies of British colonialism' in *Writing Imperial Histories,* ed by Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 125-6 notes that these power differences can be managed within historical analyses
[134] Chandrika Kaul, 'Introductory survey' in, *Media and the British Empire* ed. By Chandrika Kaul (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 5.
[135] Jan Ruger, 'Insularity and Empire in the late Nineteenth Century' in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837-1901,* ed by Miles Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 149-166.
[136] Anne Summers, 'Edwardian Militarism' in *Patriotisms: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity,* ed by Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 236-256. Also see Jan Ruger, 'Nation, Empire and Navy: Identity Politics in the United Kingdom 1887-1914', *Past & Present,* No. 185 (Nov., 2004), pp. 159-187; M.A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 5.
[137] Bill Schwarz, *Memories of Empire, Volume I: The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 10 & 118.

perceived doubt linked to their own assertive foreign policy.[138] But, there was evidently fertile ground for this in Britain, a country with an already deeply held nationalism.[139] Nevertheless, this nationalism is often confused in a 'four nations' British context. 'Britishness' is, and was, often conceived as an attempted overarching civic nationalism across four nations rather than an ethnic one like, it is argued, the more deeply held identities of Englishness or Scottishness. But, because it was the common feature of each nation's experience, the empire, as Kumar has contested, 'became the most important source of British national identity.'[140] The imperial dimension could then be projected on to the 'British' identity, especially in attempts to include the Dominions within that identity, more certainly than the less expansive 'English' one.[141]

Nevertheless, making empire an intrinsic aspect of national identity is contested. For some, the empire was a significant presence, for others, it was far less so. As Andrew Thompson has pointed out, whilst some have argued that the British 'took pride in their ability to command the seas and dispense their justice on a global scale' others were always 'apt to retreat into their island fortress'.[142] J. A. Hobson, for instance, argued that imperialism was a negation of true British identity, true patriotism was found in concern for social issues in Britain herself, not the abuse of her ideals in her far-flung empire. Similarly, William Clarke saw the militarism of imperialism in Britain and Europe as 'anathema to liberalism', importing Tory ideas through returning imperial officials.[143] This imperialism was perverting British identity and leading towards a Bismarckian autocracy.[144] Many others of course, saw the imperial civilising mission as an integral part of Britain's identity. In an extreme example, Deirdre David argues that the 'monumental existence' of the empire came 'almost entirely to define British national identity' by the later nineteenth century.[145] In an English context, Thompson adapts George Orwell's

[138] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction' in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (London: Past and Present Publications, 1983), p. 10.
[139] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
[140] Krishan Kumar, 'Varieties of Nationalism' in *The Victorian World,* ed. By Martin Hewitt, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 164-5.
[141] David Powell, *Nationhood and Identity: The British State since 1800* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), pp. 105-6.
[142] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?,* p. 200.
[143] James Thompson, 'Democracy, Monism and the Common Good: Rethinking William Clarke's Political Religion', *History of European Ideas*, 38:2 (2012), p. 243.
[144] E. Green and M. Taylor, 'Further Thoughts on Little Englandism' in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity: Vol. I History and Politics*, ed by Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 106-7.
[145] Deirdre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 158.

quote about patriotism to imperialism, seeing it as likely to 'take different forms among different classes, though it ran like a connecting thread through nearly all of them.'[146]

The notion of Greater Britain was one deeply rooted in history. The shaping glories of the past had conditioned the British race to their present pre-eminence across the globe, and their history, if Britain could avoid the fate of Rome, would allow them to continue to greatness. As Paul Readman has argued, history occupied a central part in English (specifically English rather than British) culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[147] The continuing influence of the histories of Thomas Babington Macaulay provided a persuasive and popular mode for those interested in publicizing their narratives of history and imperial history in a national frame of progress and destiny. [148] This historical mantle was then taken on by figures like J. R. Seeley and J. A. Froude with their own specific notions of progress and empire.[149]

History was increasingly used as an imperial tool in the late nineteenth century to imagine the respective positions and purposes of the British and indigenous peoples across the empire, especially in India.[150] In this work this is largely examined through the writings of Flora Annie Steel and her imaginings and placings of the British in India. Nevertheless, history was present and managed in the work of Landon, Shaw, and Haggard. Landon, for instance, presented a version of the turmoil of 1857 to canonise Indian outrages and encourage military veneration.[151] From the 1890s to the First World War, the events of 1857 became particularly popular in British depictions of history. It appeared in music-hall and on stage as well as in numerous novels and histories. Novels about the Indian rebellion, or mere, if terrible, 'Mutiny' could present a clear image of imperial might and right at a time when uncertainty about the empire's morals and strength were being exposed during the war in South Africa.[152] History provided a reason and narrative for the British presence, 1857 provided that for many as it gave the British their glorious, and hard-won, place. Landon was using history to provide ballast to the project of depicting the empire as one of military conquest, and one focused on military

[146] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?*, p. 201
[147] Paul Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture c. 1890-1914', *Past & Present*, No. 186 (Feb, 2005), pp. 149-50.
[148] Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 261-6
[149] Theodore Koditschek, *Liberalism, Imperialism, and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth-Century Visions of a Greater Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 174 & 334
[150] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 3-5.
[151] Perceval Landon, *"1857": in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Indian mutiny: with an appendix containing the names of the survivors of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men who fought in India in 1857.* (London: W.H. Smith, 1907) British Library, Asia, Pacific & Africa RL 109
[152] Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity*, pp. 24-5 & 139-40.

heroes like Robert Clive.[153] Along with Lord Curzon, Landon was focused in his depictions of empire in portraying it as filled with grandeur, as well as being the hard-won historical destiny of the British.

Historical causation and narrative also had its place in the Dominions. Shaw, who drafted an unpublished history of the British Empire and wrote a book on the history of Australia, used history, and theories of racial destiny, to justify the British rise to greatness and the gradual disappearance of aboriginal peoples.[154] Haggard worked with similar theories of racial destiny, but, in his interest in agriculture, turned to the fabled independent yeoman as the 'backbone of England'.[155] History was becoming more prevalent in British and European culture at this point as a way of explaining the respective destinies of different races.[156] Each of these characters used British history to explore and justify their own narratives, militarist, expansionist, and pastoral. The Victorian love of classification and the organisation of knowledge was being applied to nations and peoples as distinctive histories determined their characters and therefore their futures. This determinism, as Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued, meant that the European fixation on a historicist reading of society which assumed that all cultures had to progress towards a pre-conceived idea of modernity was a crucial tool in enabling the propagation of empire.[157]

Amartya Sen has divided colonial writing about India, writing which often conflated history and the present day, into exoticist, magisterial and curatorial approaches.[158] Flora Annie Steel's writing would undoubtedly be placed in the exoticist category as, claiming deep knowledge of India from her time there, she used her writings, fiction and non-fiction, to examine the differences between East and West. As Ronald Inden argued, historical imaginings were justification for the rational Englishman, moulded by history and training for leadership, to rule

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[153] Peter Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire: The Politics of History Teaching in England, 1870-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 124-6.
[154] The Weston Library, The University of Oxford, 'History of the British Empire'. MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 590, 7/3; Flora Shaw, *The Story of Australia* (London: Horace Marshall, 1897)
[155] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. I*, p. xix.
[156] J. W. Burrows, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English* Past (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 2. C.A. Bayly, 'Religion, Liberalism and Empires: British Historians and Their Indian Critics in the Nineteenth Century', in *Tributary Empires in Global History* ed by Peter Bang and C. A. Bayly (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 27-8; Peter Mandler, *History and National Identity* (London & New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2002), p. 7.
[157] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations*, 37: (1992), pp. 1–26; Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 7.
[158] Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian Culture, History and Identity* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 141.

over the irrational and sensual Indian, still stuck in ancient modes of living.[159] But Steel's history was also revealing of the conception of the British mission in India. She decried the rapacity of the eighteenth-century British invaders whilst also being staunchly supportive of the British in her own time.[160] But this was not for the motivations of the civilising mission. Steel was deeply wary of westernisation and she based this upon India's distinctive and separate history. The grandeur and romance of Indian history called for a different remedy and Steel placed the British in the last of a long line of invaders in India, fitting them into a supposed indigenous tradition linked to the Mughals.[161] Any ideology of empire in British India tended to reach to history for its justification, either in the recent past or through longer traditions which supposedly fitted a certain people for a certain role.

But Steel also used Indian history, much like Annie Besant and British Orientalists, as a mirror with which to critique British society.[162] Steel found in India a purer, nobler, and more chaste form of living, especially in relation to the virtues of women who she contrasted with the immodesty and 'titter' of British women.[163] She attempted to draw out the profundities of Indian philosophy to criticise the materiality and frivolity of British culture. Steel painted India through her novels and histories like a watercolour, aestheticising Indian culture in and cherry-picking aspects with which to criticise British society.[164] In her historical series concerning the emperors Babur, Akbar, and the extraordinary influence of Nurjahan, the wife of Jahangir, Steel presented an ideal of rulership, one shot through with notions of Britishness.[165] These were historical figures presented aesthetically, but as archetypes of manly, vigorous rule, female motherly self-sacrifice, as well as determination and strength in rule. The Emperors acted as a precursor to the energy and vigour which Steel argued India needed to act as a nation, and which she saw the British as providing. This is history as drama, the history is of high society, politics, Kings and Queens, battles and betrayal, it is Indian society presented as a fable with lessons to be learnt, both for Indians and the British. This romance in Steel's writing forms

[159] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 131-157; Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p. 120.
[160] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 251-4 & 307-309.
[161] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 145-155. In fiction see Flora Annie Steel, *A Prince of Dreamers* (London: W. Heinemann, 1908)
[162] Inden, *Imagining India*, pp. 66-7
[163] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 165.
[164] This concept of aestheticisation is one that is prominent in Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003) and Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 198-202
[165] Steel, *A Prince of Dreamers*, p. xi. Flora Annie Steel, *The Adventures of Akbar* (London: W. Heinemann, 1913); Flora Annie Steel, *Mistress of Men* (London: W. Heinemann, 1917); Alex Padamsee, 'The Politics of Sovereignty and Violence in Flora Annie Steel's A Prince of Dreamers', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 58:1, (Spring 2012), pp. 22-45 for a discussion of the Britishness of the Mughals in this representation.

part of a late-Victorian passion for dramatic writing which Andrew Griffiths has linked with the Special Correspondents of the New Journalism and which was dwindling in contemporary reporting by the time of the South African War, 1899-1902.[166] Steel presents lives and tales, 'marvellous in its romance, touching in its humanity' and she insists, even in her fiction, that she is diligent in research and that she has been faithful to 'all matters of importance to the evidence of contemporaneous witnesses'.[167]

Both in considering the propagation of notions of historical destiny and the ideology of Greater Britain, empire was called to service as leading towards an idealised future. History and empire are the dramatic backdrop to the society which humanity is aiming towards, helped by these shaping forces. History and Greater Britain both hinged upon, in its most basic form, identity. As such, publicising imperial histories and the arguments for Greater Britain intellectually overlapped as they provided a guide and necessary prelude to the future.

Gender and Empire

Much of the scholarship relating to gender and imperialism is devoted to asking what the specifically gendered approach to empire, from both men and women, consisted of. Through the prism of Flora Annie Steel's over twenty years in India many of the questions that have surrounded the British Raj and women's place in it can be examined. Steel's devotion to following her husband through the Punjab and her choice of writing on subjects devoted to and derived from the empire and his work can be an exemplar of Procida's *Married to the Empire.* Steel viewed her role as wife and imperial citizen in the same terms, devoted to the British presence in India. Steel's life in India raises questions around how far women had a conception of their life in India outside the British Empire or if the Raj in the Anglo-Indian community had a totalising power.[168] This is, in many ways, a different way of viewing debates about the extent of complicity or resistance European colonial women attained.[169] If they were 'married to the empire' were there really any viable avenues for them to live outside an imperialist

[166] Griffiths, *The New Journalism*, p. 184.
[167] Steel, *Mistress of Men, (preface)*, p. vii.
[168] Procida, *Married to the Empire*, p. 29.
[169] Nancy L Paxton, 'Complicity and Resistance in the Writings of Flora Annie Steel and Annie Besant' in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. By N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 159

structure that co-opted them with their husbands as effective employees of the British government?

Her views on the status of women in India were an integral part of how Steel viewed Indian culture. Indrani Sen points out Steel's admiration for the devotion of Indian women in marriage and argues that in many ways, Steel uses this to critique Western womanhood. Sen argues that in many ways, Steel's 'ideal female paradigm […] draws upon both cultures.'[170] Thomas Metcalf has also argued that that Steel uses part of *On the Face of the Waters* to make this exact point as Kate Erlton contrasts British and Indian responses to 'a lonely woman' and is reasonably content in the rooftop seclusion that she was left in. But he points out that the novel never calls into question 'the larger values that sustained the Raj' and Kate, on re-joining the British camp, urges the soldiers to take revenge on Delhi for the wrongs done to English women.[171] Nevertheless, Steel is deeply concerned with the differing ideals of womanhood and 'the self-effacing tendencies of the oriental ideal as a salutary and necessary discipline for the Western woman, whose relentless desire for a sublated romantic monopoly threatens to undermine domestic culture.'[172] The romantic form which was a prominent part of Steel's novels also appeared in her histories which this thesis focusses on. Here, Steel projects her conservative gender expectations onto historical figures such as Nurjahan, praised for her motherly devotion to her daughter.[173] Women were guides to men, as Nurjahan was to Jahangir, but there is little question in Steel's work that the project of empire was a masculine one.

Steel's views on the status of Indian women is revealing of the wider approaches to women's rights taken in the British imperial imagination. It also links to the arguments of Antoinette Burton and others about the links between imperialism, particularly in India, and feminism.[174] Nancy Paxton has connected Steel's views on female sexuality with her defence of British imperialism. Women's position as 'the victims of sex' and her argument that they were the primal cause of conflict between races meant that, 'Steel ultimately identified female sexuality as one of the most powerful forces undermining civilisation.'[175] Thomas Metcalf has also

[170] Indrani Sen, *Woman and Empire: Representations in the Writings of British India (1858-1900)* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2005), p. 147.
[171] Thomas R. Metcalf, *New Cambridge History of India: III. 4, Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 165.
[172] Jennifer l. Otsuki, 'The memsahib and the ends of empire: Feminine desire in Flora Annie Steel's 'On the Face of the Waters'', *Victorian Literature and culture* (1996), 24:2, p. 25.
[173] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque,* p. 195.
[174] Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), p. 104.
[175] Nancy L. Paxton, 'Complicity and Resistance', p. 165.

equated Steel's views with the feminisation, and tempting sexualisation, of India. This sexuality was 'used to represent not control, but fear of the loss of control' as it could lead men astray from their duty to the empire.[176] Flora Annie Steel's views on suffrage were inevitably complicated by this and although she did embrace the suffrage cause, she remained conservative. Her views on European women in India links with arguments about the effect of women on Empire. Helen Callaway, writing about Nigeria, has argued that women led to a softening of what had been an almost exclusively masculine space.[177] But this does not mesh well with Steel's forceful character and she is rather an exemplar of being married to the empire, enthusiastic about its mission and norms.[178]

Flora Shaw also inhabited a peculiar place in Britain and the empire due to the combination of her profession and gender. A journalist at the top of the profession in imperial circles, her presence as Colonial Editor was testament to her acuity and force of character. Nevertheless, Shaw had a powerful position within *The Times* through the Managing Editor, Charles Moberly Bell, as well as her privileged upbringing. Any approach to viewing her work through the lens of a gendered response to empire must contend with the almost exclusively masculine voice which she employed in her writings. Shaw played on her gender in her publicity in a less obvious way than Mary Kingsley, a rival who despised Shaw's aggressive imperialism.[179] In most of her writing, Shaw studiously avoided her gender, or particular gendered issues, employing the detached voice of *The Times* to discuss the unifying project of imperialism and its expansion. Shaw viewed her work as allied to an imperialism forwarded by Joseph Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes and others. This is not to reduce Shaw to a cipher, her views on empire were distinctive and wide-ranging, simply that Shaw tended to subsume her gender in her writing. Nevertheless, in practice, Shaw could use her gender in interviews with political figures such as Paul Kruger in South Africa or Australian State Premiers, ready to dismiss her acumen. Shaw was attempting to promote an ultra-imperialist agenda, one dominated by men, but she did it from within that bastion of male opinion, *The Times*, rather than the aristocratic ladies pressure groups of Violet Markham or Lady Jersey.[180]

[176] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, p. 163.
[177] Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 243-4.
[178] Procida, *Married to Empire*, p. 1.
[179] Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad*, p. 91; Anderson, W*omen and the Politics of Travel*, p. 199
[180] Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 3, 111, 186.

The role of women in the empire mirrored this imperialism and Shaw supported the emigration of women to the settler colonies. Shaw made the standard gendered point that women would aid settlement in making the colonisation of Canada, South Africa, and Australia permanent, making homes, rather than just settlements.[181] Responding to the concern about the gender imbalance of much of the empire, Shaw encouraged wives, daughters, and sisters to accompany men in settling. Nevertheless, the overriding argument and point in this argument was about the furtherance of Britain's imperial mission, not about a gendered response to empire.

For both Steel and Shaw, the extent of any gender rebellion seems slight. Although they lived lives out of the conventions of domesticity, and pursued successful professional careers, they did so whilst lauding the patriarchal system which put them there. As with the civil servant Barbara Hosking's recent memoir, *Exceeding my Brief*, it is hard not to consider the pretensions to rebelliousness of Steel's conservative suffragism and Shaw's travelling for *The Times* to be supporting the system rather than damaging it.[182] Although they were undoubtedly notable and transgressive for their independence in pursuing their careers, Steel and Shaw were staunch imperialists committed to reinforcing the masculine aura of the British empire. In much of her writing on India, and Indian women, Steel lauded the meek and noble submissiveness to their roles as mothers and guardians of the home. Steel resolutely maintained the female role in reproduction as the cornerstone of their duty to the empire, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', as Anna Davin argued in 1978, was writ very large on discussion of women's roles.[183] Shaw endeavoured to shrug off women's issues and simply concentrate on the masculine-inflected topics of imperial politics and economics.

Nevertheless, gender in the empire was obviously not exclusively, or even primarily, feminine. Shaw, as has been noted, projected a masculine image in the tone of her writings, even if she was considered the image of perfect femininity in person. As Rosalind O'Hanlon rightly maintained, 'men too are gendered' and this was very much the case in the publicity of

[181] Flora Shaw, 'Klondike', *The Royal Colonial Institute: Report of Proceedings vol. XXX*, no. 3. p. 190; Philippa Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?' in *Gender and Empire*, ed. By Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 8

[182] Barbara Hosking, *Exceeding my Brief: Memoirs of a Disobedient Civil Servant* (London: Biteback, 2017) For the elaboration of the manner of the conservative and imperially reinforcing nature of much female rebellion in the empire, see Procida, *Married to Empire*, p. 1. Laura E. Ciolowski, 'Travelers' tales: Empire, Victorian Travel and the spectacle of English Womanhood in Mary Kingsley's "Travels in West Africa"', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 26:2 (1998), pp. 338-9; Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 22.

[183] Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop Journal*, 9 (1978), pp. 9–65.

empire.[184] Represented in Britain as a realm of adventure, daring deeds, and free, white solidarity, the empire was in most writing, a predominantly male area.[185] As this study deals with representations and publicising in Britain, it is evident that although the empire included indigenous populations with their own gender balance and white colonising women living and working in their own settings, the discussion and presentation of it remained deeply masculine. Masculine representation was a prominent, recurrent theme in representations of the empire and played an alternately subtle and overt place in much imperial discourse. Linking strongly with the notions of imperial character discussed above and the empire being a space which both demanded and shaped characters of exceptional masculine virtue, masculinity in the empire, as propounded by these individuals, was assumed to be a basic requirement of empire.[186]

Rider Haggard has often been cited in connection with a particular form of British and imperial masculinity through his adventure novels.[187] *King Solomon's Mines* was famously dedicated to 'All the big and little boys who read it' and Haggard maintained his notions of masculinity and boyish adventure throughout his life. These demands of manliness and character were an integral part of his call for a life on the land, producing healthier, fitter, and stronger men. Haggard was emphatic in his support of a form of masculinity which emphasised independence, especially in farming on the land. This emphasis on independence in manliness, as well as inter-related notions of vigour and integrity, were coalescing into an image of the Empire as a more exclusively masculine place. Even in his acknowledgments of female presence in the empire, Haggard placed them as occupying an adjunct masculine role, or at least a more masculinized femininity than the presumed 'petticoats' which Allan Quatermain derided in Britain. Haggard praised his wife for her devotion to duty during the First South African War in 1880 as she encourages him to go out and fight, later in evidence on population and emigration, Haggard inevitably supports women's primary role as child-bearers.[188] But as Joanne Begiato has pointed out the 'flight from domesticity' which John Tosh identified was often a product 'men's imaginative lives', like the escapes provided by Haggard's fiction,

[184] Rosalind O'Hanlon, 'Gender in the British Empire', in Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire. IV. The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 396
[185] Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 3; Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Barbarians: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), pp. 205-225.
[186] Collini, *Public Moralists*, pp. 186-196
[187] Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: HarperCollinsAcademic, 1991), pp. 127-169.
[188] Haggard, *Days of My Life Vol. I*, pp. 183-4.; *Problems of Population and Parenthood [Being the Second Report of and the chief evidence taken by the Nation Birth-Rate Commission, 1918-1920]* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1920), pp. 256-268.

rather than accepted social practice.[189] Manliness still had significant homely aspects which Haggard's non-fiction work emphasises.

Images and adulation of manliness reached a peak during the 1890s and the late Victorian empire was suffused with masculine imagery in numerous associated aspects such as the increasing militarism of its public pageants.[190] Perceval Landon echoed this homosocial and masculine imagery in the empire in his work on the commemoration of 1857, gathering veterans and writing a shining account of British heroism and defence of, or revenge for the violation of, British womanhood.[191] His work reporting in South Africa, his accounts of the expedition to Tibet, and his work on 1857, were chronicles of men's heroic deeds in the empire, presented as examples to emulate. Landon's empire, and the borderlands he toured considering British influence and friendships, were examples of the competitive, masculine world he considered the British empire to operate in.

Attitudes to Indigenous Peoples in the Empire

The racial, white supremacist basis of empire was a linchpin of the ideology for each of the propagandists in this study. For each figure, power in the empire rested, and was meant to rest, with the white British. Approaches to conceptualising the place of British and white, as well as indigenous peoples across the empire through racial delineation was widespread and complex. This served a strategic purpose as it was applied in creating and maintaining the racial hierarchy.[192] Indigenous peoples were at once homogenised as simply 'natives', the other in much imperial discourse, and differentiated within this according to notions of development and progress, depending on the purpose. Imperialism in the 'High' British Empire was profoundly racialised both in its social assumptions of hierarchy and in its legal basis in the settler colonies. Although this legal basis was less clear in Britain itself, the equation of Britishness and whiteness was evident most writing put forth to support the empire. Whiteness

[189] Joanne Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, emotion, and material culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p. 12.
[190] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999); M.A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Dawson, *Soldier Heroes.* Max Jones, *Decolonising Imperial heroes.*
[191] Perceval Landon, *"1857": in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Indian mutiny: with an appendix containing the names of the survivors of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men who fought in India in 1857.* (London: W.H. Smith, 1907) British Library, Asia, Pacific & Africa RL 109
[192] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8/4: (2006), pp. 387–409. Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016)

was a way of constructing a transnational identity of Britishness as Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds have argued, especially in light of the threats, actual and potential, to white supremacy in China, Japan and India.[193] This vision of the settler empire in exclusively white terms has been researched by Duncan Bell, Bill Schwarz and others. A conception of a transnational community for the British 'played a critical role in empire, both in colony and metropole' as Bill Schwarz has put it. Whiteness was crucial in presenting, discussing and conceptualising the empire for the individuals discussed, both explicitly and implicitly.[194]

Perceval Landon's white Englishness came very obviously to light as he travelled beyond the edges of the empire, although this largely acted to affirm his belief in racial superiority than undermine it. His narrative of empire was concerned with the British place in it, foreign societies could be presented as little more than 'local colour'.[195] But the time which Landon spent in societies in India, Nepal and the Middle East, often far from considerable European contact places him as an example of Mary Louise Pratt's notion of 'areas of transculturation'.[196] Landon, within his militarist, British-led schema, evidently had a deep interest in indigenous societies, if primarily on his own terms, and disputes from indigenous writings in newspapers and protests undoubtedly shaped some of his writing. His books record in detail the local customs of Nepal and Tibet, although his position as detached observer often led him to misinterpret and misread situations as with his belief that monks in Tibet tyrannised over the population and led them to seclude themselves in cells for life, rather than a fixed period of years.[197] The transience of Landon's time in each country made his interpretations difficult but also simplistic in their purpose. Landon's depictions of indigenous societies and peoples did not doubt for a moment who the 'Lords of Humankind' were, to use Victor Kiernan's phrase, he crafted an image of the British Empire in the world to fit with this whilst also being perpetually wary of competition.[198]

Flora Shaw's travels through the Dominions also gave her the opportunity to express opinions about the indigenous peoples of the settler colonies. Shaw subscribed to the contemporary fiction that saw the Dominions, with the exception of South Africa, as largely empty lands

[193] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008), p. 2.
[194] Schwarz, *Memories of Empire*, p. 10; Bell, *Greater Britain*, pp. 113-9
[195] Landon, *Under the Sun*, preface.
[196] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 188-191.
[197] Landon, *The Opening of Tibet*, pp. 109-10.
[198] Victor Kiernan, *Lords of Humankind: European Attitudes to other cultures in the Imperial Age* (Harmondsworth: Penguin books, 1972)

where white people could settle.[199] When she did write about native peoples such as the Polynesian islanders referred to as 'Kanakas' in the sugar industry in Australia, there is a question over how much her ideological commitments led her to report favourably on it, despite the facts. Nevertheless, Shaw predicted that the plantation economy will replicate the class economy of England, a model she evidently did not, at least theoretically, restrict on the basis of race.[200] But here and elsewhere, Shaw revealed a strong paternalistic streak that was closely related to ideas of racial hierarchy. Her imperialism and attitudes to those on its receiving end place her in the company of other female imperialists of her day such as Olive Schreiner and Beatrice Webb, although from a different end of the political spectrum. Shaw rejected the more culturally relativist ideas of Mary Kingsley, and her thought linked more closely with the hierarchical view of races.[201] Nevertheless, despite the widely divergent views on domestic politics held by these imperial women, their views on the empire were often not fundamentally at odds.[202]

Perceptions of the Indian people held by the British who settled in India can also be interrogated through Flora Annie Steel. Her views were unorthodox to the extent that she made a conscious effort to engage with the communities that she visited and many of her short stories deal exclusively with themes of Indian life. Much has also been written on the question of Steel's views on race. LeeAnne M. Richardson argues that the question is not whether Steel was imperialist or racist, these notions largely going unquestioned at the time, but 'how Steel orchestrates the multiple perspectives she attempts to represent in her novel, eschewing a single, race-specific perspective.'[203] Steel is acknowledged for the agency and subjectivity that she attempts to give to the Indian characters in her stories and novels. Discussing *On the Face of the Waters,* Jenny Sharpe points out that Steel herself, in her autobiography, saw her novel as at least partly an attempt to combat the overtly bloodthirsty tone of many novels of 1857.[204] Nevertheless, she points out that Steel does not break with the basic imperialist tradition, it is

[199] E. Moberly Bell, *Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard D. B. E.)* (London: Constable, 1947), p. 103.
[200] Helly, 'Flora Shaw and *The Times*', p. 121
[201] For Mary Kingsley and Cultural Relativism, see Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2nd edition, 1992), pp. 29-34. For the Scientific interpretation of race, Douglas A. Lorimer, 'Race, science and culture: historical continuities and discontinuities, 1850-1914' in *The Victorians and Race,* ed. by Shearer West (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 1996), pp. 12-33 and his more recent book, Douglas A. Lorimer, *Science, Race relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)
[202] Helly and Callaway, 'Crusader for Empire', p. 92-3.
[203] LeeAnne M. Richardson, *New Women and Colonial Adventure Fiction in Victorian Britain* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), p. 93.
[204] Flora Annie Steel, *The Garden of Fidelity: Being the Autobiography of Flora Annie Steel, 1847-1929* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1929), p. 15.

simply done in a less bloodthirsty way. The novel is unusual in not focusing on the massacre at Cawnpore and the outraging of British womanhood, but rather on the siege of Delhi demonstrating the 'male heroism' which the text wants to highlight as Patrick Williams has argued.[205] Moreover, her use of sati, 'permits Steel both to establish English woman's agency and to protect the domestic model through which the racial superiority of the colonisers was reaffirmed.'[206] Steel's views on race in India approach those of her contemporaries obliquely, although any argument that her views were strongly divergent from the broader Anglo-Indian community would be misleading.[207]

The emigration and evocation of 'the land' as an unadulterated good, which Haggard emphasised in his writings was also imbued with racialism. Haggard's conviction that those who lived on the land were healthier was used to promote emigration to defend Australia against the burgeoning populations of India and China. This conviction that Australia needed more settlers to defend it against the 'Yellow races' came to prominence in Britain after the Japanese defeat of the Russian fleet in 1905.[208] Viewing and conceptualising global competition as racial and presenting deep anxieties about this, Haggard was presenting an argument for emigration as a patriotic duty. This was one of the underpinning arguments which many proponents of Greater Britain supported.[209] Nevertheless, Haggard's depictions of race in his novels has been disputed, especially given his hatred of industrialism.[210] His later support of pastoralism and emigration was clearer in its racial thinking and was grounded in whiteness and racial competition.

These racial attitudes, sometimes explicit and sometimes unspoken, formed the underpinnings of much imperial thought. Greater Britain was largely racial in its ideology, Britain's historical exceptionalism in India was predicated upon their race, and the primacy of Britain in world politics was a formed from their racial destiny.

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[205] Patrick Williams, 'No Woman is worth it: Flora Annie Steel and the Indian Mutiny' in *Gender and Colonialism*, ed. by Timothy Foley, Lionel Pilkington, Sean Ryder, Elizabeth Tilley (Galway: Galway University Press, 1995), p. 62.
[206] Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Women in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 87 & 102.
[207] Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p. 6.
[208] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, pp. 268-9. Lorimer, *Race Relations and Empire*, p. 246.
[209] Bell, *Greater Britain*, pp. 92-119; *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 166-181
[210] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 227; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1-4.

Imperial Debates and concerns, 1880-1930.

Finally, it is useful to consider briefly the context of imperial debate and concerns in which these individuals participated.

The British Empire expanded from 1880 to 1930 in a dramatic fashion. These years included the Scramble for Africa from 1885, the wars in Sudan 1884-1898, intermittent wars in West Africa in modern day Nigeria in the 1890s-1900s the South African War 1899-1902, the conclusion of the federation of Australia in 1900, the First World War and the imperial spoils which it gave such as Palestine, Iraq, and parts of Africa. For commentators in Britain these were also turbulent and divisive years seeing increasing assertions of independence across all of Britain's colonies.

India, as the vaunted jewel in the crown of the empire, was a topic of constant discussion for imperial elites. From the Ilbert Bill in 1883 which raised the spectre of Indians judging Europeans in the courts and was ferociously opposed as part of the racial and gender politics of Anglo-India, to the strikes and protests from the partition of Bengal in 1905 until the 1920s, this period was one of continued tension between a stirring nationalism and co-ordinated opposition to the British in India. This unrest and its causes were often pored over in Britain with the blame being laid on missionary interference, Bengali dissension, and the innate untrustworthiness of Indians. These were all debates which Flora Annie Steel and Perceval Landon contributed to. Unrest in India demanded ever more attention when it was placed alongside worries over the Great Game and Russian designs over Northern India, worries exemplified by the Younghusband expedition, an invasion of Tibet in 1903-4, which Landon accompanied, to counter Russian influence.

Relations between the white settler colonies and Britain were also of continued concern throughout this period. Emigration to these colonies was booming and Flora Shaw and Henry Rider Haggard were prominent voices in the scrutiny and encouragement which this received. Many imperialists were determined to encourage emigration only within the empire and stem the flow of people to the USA something which was partially achieved after 1900 as most emigrants stayed within the empire.[211] The increasing self-government of the white settler colonies was also a major topic of debate, especially as a powerful current of this was

[211] Darwin, *The Empire Project*, p. 42.

concerned with Greater Britain and the globe-spanning community of manners, and skin colour which some attempted to establish in the empire.

In the 1890s South Africa emerged as a particular point of concern for the Colonial Office and colonial commentators. Tension with the Transvaal, the position of the Uitlanders, British workers in the mines of the Transvaal, and the question of the African populations across all of Southern Africa, made it a test case with great interest. In the later 1890s expansion in West Africa with the campaigns of George Goldie and Frederick Lugard, which Flora Shaw did much to publicise, gathered ferocious pace and commercial interest in Britain.

Conclusion

This thesis traces the themes of imperial discourse in the writings of a selected group of imperial enthusiasts who worked as novelists, journalists, politicians, and issue-specific campaigners. These themes of the press-politics nexus, the romanticisation of India and Indian history, the valorisation of the land and pastoralism, and the geopolitical and militarist conception of imperial competition are each followed through one case study. These themes are underpinned by each individual's consideration of gender and race. These shaped the way they considered about their campaigns and why they chose them. The individuals selected to consider each theme were devoted to promoting empire and worked to bolster support for it in Britain. Through journalism, travel writing, novels, political campaigns and speeches, they each worked to spread an impression of the empire as natural and beneficial to Britain and humanity. Collectively, they shed light on how imperial communicators acted and were received in imperial Britain. They had an elite focus and this reception is demonstrated through their impact on media debate and government policy.

The question of the reception of imperial propaganda in Britain is an issue which has dogged historians and it seems that the prominence of the empire in the Britain imagination was sectional, at least in part. But the variety and popularity of writings on the British Empire were so numerous and wide that it seems equally evident that the empire was not a neglected aspect of British society. The empire figured in numerous domestic debates like land reform and formed a considerable part of notions about English and British history. The individuals considered here were attempting to spread that interest and knowledge. They propagandised to select and elite circles who, they thought, were not giving the empire its due investment or attention. These circles were deemed to be the ones that mattered because they controlled

policy, directed investment, or influenced other sections of society. This thesis uncovers, through a life writing approach, how imperialism figured in the discourse of Britain in the years 1860-1930 in elite organs like *The Times*, and in government circles. By exploring different figures in the publicisation of empire, it furthers our understanding of how empire figured in debates often considered purely domestic such as land reform, as well as how enthusiasts for empire considered their contributions to these debates.

FLORA SHAW, PRESS AND POLITICS: A WOMAN IN THE PRESS AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In the summer of 1902, Flora Shaw was beginning what could be justly termed a new chapter in her life. She had become Flora Lugard, marrying the imperial administrator and soldier Frederick Lugard in June of that year on the island of Madeira. Travelling from there, Shaw found herself in a colonial outpost in Zungeru in Northern Nigeria. For the first time in her life Shaw did not have to work. As she wrote in a letter from Madeira to her niece Hilda Brackenbury, 'I can hardly tell you how entirely at rest I felt.'[212] Flora Shaw had been an almost constantly busy political journalist for the previous fifteen years. She had traversed the empire reporting and campaigning at every opportunity in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*, *The Pall Mall Gazette* and then *The Times* where she was Colonial Editor from 1893 to 1900. Flora Lugard, having exchanged her previous professional old-fashioned black dresses for white gowns upon her marriage, wrote back happily about the expansion of empire, and Lugard's changes to administration in Nigeria, to Charles Moberly Bell, her previous employer at *The Times*.[213] 'The amount of work which has been done here in the two years since the country was taken over from the company is the best of things which make one feel proud of the British race.' Flora Shaw had a missionary zeal for the British Empire, which was simply the 'best place for the exercise of justice and liberty and individual effort which the world has seen.'[214] To be at the frontier, helping geographically expand, consolidate, and push ideas of what the empire could be forward was her contribution to the cause, and this was what she wanted. The British Empire's ideologically inextricable combination of liberty and responsibility could, with its expansion and consolidation, bring to millions the benefits of modern civilisation and the order, prosperity and self-respect that accompanied it.

This chapter focusses on conceptions of Greater Britain and empire using Flora Shaw's tours of the settler colonies in the 1890s as well as her writings on West Africa during the 1900s. There has been a too pronounced demarcation between the settler empire and the Crown Colonies which was not as wide in her writings, and that of many other imperialists, as may be thought. Although this attitude in seeing a coming unity between the Crown and settler colonies

[212] Oxford, Weston Library, MSS Brit Emp. S. 590. 3/3/30, Friday June 13th, 1902.
[213] E. M. Bell, *Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard D.B.E)* (London: Constable, 1947), p. 244. This biography is still indispensable as it uses diaries and letters now lost. Enid Moberly Bell was the daughter of Shaw's Managing Editor at *The Times*, Charles Moberly Bell
[214] Oxford, Weston Library, MSS Brit Emp. S. 590. 4/5/42 & 45. Flora Lugard- Charles Moberly Bell, September 29th, 1902.

was not widespread it does indicate an attempt, especially with those working and interested in the tropical colonies, to shift perceptions in Britain. This led Shaw to struggle with questions of race and settlement within the empire, as well as taking a deep interest in the economics of it which allowed settlement and exploitation. Occupying a privileged position at the pinnacle of British political and imperial circles, Shaw used her influence to promote the empire, its expansion and defence. This background, connection with official colonial officials, and her eventual marriage into high colonial circles in Britain, coupled with her journalism and tours within the empire and evident knowledge of the empire's political and economic life, was Shaw's badge of expertise as an imperial communicator in the metropolis. An examination of Shaw's writings and life therefore allows a consideration of the circles of the political and colonial elites from the 1890s through to the mid-1900s and beyond. Using Flora Shaw, this chapter investigates how the empire was promoted and presented by one of its strongest advocates in the pages of *The Times* and beyond.

Shaw's life, as journalist, imperial wife and campaigner, was lived through the empire and this relationship was usually conducted through a masculine filter. Whether through her anonymous articles in *The Times* or in interactions with male imperial actors and even when writing and presenting under her own name, she was placed within a detached, official, and masculine discourse. Nevertheless, in many of her writings, both public and private, Shaw saw a specific and active role for women in the empire. This encompassed not only her own role, that of the evangelising public voice, but one in the creation of true settler communities in the British Empire, supporting their brothers and husbands to forge successful new Englands across the globe. Despite her active campaigning and journalism, Flora Shaw does not easily reside in work or ideology, with writings about the New Women of the 1890s, which tend to focus on women more interested in re-imagining their gender roles than Shaw was.[215] Previous work on Flora Shaw has concentrated on her role as an imperial journalist and has largely considered her in the context of her role in the Jameson Raid and the links between the media and the Colonial Office.[216] Little consideration has been given to the period after her retirement as a

[215] Iveta Jusova, *The New Women and The Empire* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005)

[216] There has been some work on Flora Shaw, largely undertaken by Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway. See, Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway, 'Crusader for Empire: Flora Shaw/Lady Lugard' in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. By Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992) Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway, 'Journalism as active politics: Flora Shaw, *The Times* and South Africa' in *The South African War Reappraised*, ed. By Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), Dorothy O. Helly, 'Flora Shaw and the Times: Becoming a Journalist, Advocating Empire', in *Women in Journalism at the fin de siècle: Making a name for herself* ed. by Elizabeth Gray (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) She has received consideration in histories of *The Times* such as Oliver

journalist and her continuation of this influencing, writing, and lobbying, subsequently largely focused on West Africa.[217]

It is in the informal links between the paper and the political structures of government that *The Times* hoped to influence policy. *The Times* has long been acknowledged, both by historians and contemporaries, as having strong, favoured links with governments in this period. It was these links that the newspaper had with governments of both parties that was an integral part of its elite appeal. Flora Shaw was very much a part of this tradition. As the official history of *The Times* puts it, 'Her views were definite, her influence was considerable.'[218] *The Times* occupied a position that blurred the boundaries of politics, it had privileged access to information and shaped policy by talking to influential circles. This influence was reinforced by the belief which many held of *The Times'* influence. Shaw recorded a meeting with the French Ambassador in the late 1890s who 'spent nearly two hours in endeavouring to impress upon me his view of the part that a truly patriotic English man might play in dealing with the relations of England and France.'[219] Rather than acting as a check upon the government, questioning its policies and passively representing public opinion, the classic role of the fourth estate, the press can often be seen as more involved with active politics and the direct making of policies. Newspapers attempted to represent opinion, but they also sought to mould it. Nevertheless, the influence of newspapers and journalists on government policy can easily be exaggerated as Simon Potter has argued.[220] For many, their purported influence, especially as their biases and propensity to misrepresent were well known, could be exaggerated.[221] Newspapers acted as actors in conversations about policy, both publicly and privately. But despite the supposed wave of jingoism in British public opinion at this time, it was informally, and particularly so in Flora Shaw's case, as one of many sources of expertise and authority, that prominent journalists could exercise influence.

Flora Shaw had a prominent role in these informal networks of influence around the Jameson Raid when her access to the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, allowed her to act as a

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Woods and Joseph Bishop, *The Story of The Times: Bicentenary Edition 1785-1985* (London: Michael Joseph LTD, 1983); *The History of The Times, Vol. III. The Twentieth Century test* (London: The Times, 1947) There is also a notable section in Jonathan Schneer's *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 133-146.

[217] Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1987), p. 38-9.

[218] *The History of The Times, Vol. III. The Twentieth Century test* (London: The Times, 1947), p. 162.

[219] Flora Shaw – Charles Moberly Bell. News UK Archive, 16th March 1899, CMB/1

[220] Simon J. Potter, 'Jingoism, Public Opinion and the New Imperialism', *Media History*, 20:1 (2014), p. 46.

[221] James Thompson, *British Political Culture and the Idea of 'Public Opinion', 1867–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 63-4.

conduit between him and Cecil Rhodes.[222] The close contacts that Shaw had with the Colonial Office whilst at *The Times* were extensive. At the beginning of the South African War, the man who was to become commander in chief of the British forces, Redvers Buller told Lady Londonderry in a letter in September 1899, '"I went to see Miss Flora Shaw [because] I thought she might know something" about what Chamberlain was planning in South Africa, and she was able to tell him about the proposed areas of attack.[223] Similarly, a Colonial Official noted that "it has never been our practice to send out advance copies of papers to any journal (always excepting Miss Shaw)" and Shaw herself was known to send advance copies of her articles to the Colonial Office.[224] Flora Shaw wielded this personal political influence in colonial policy making circles in London, as well as with colonial officials in the capital where she was widely acknowledged as an expert. In a manner which it is difficult to find parallel she exercised influence not only in personal and social contexts, but professionally in the board room of *The Times* and the corridors of the Colonial Office. Flora Shaw managed to project power in what was a traditionally masculine manner. She also had personal and social connections with Lord Milner, Joseph Chamberlain, L.S. Amery, Dorothy Grey, the wife of later Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, and was able to campaign in an unofficial as well as official capacity for her imperial goals. After her resignation from *The Times* in 1900 and marriage to Frederick Lugard in 1902, Shaw maintained these links. She recorded meetings, lunches and dinners, in letters to her husband whilst he was in Nigeria, with colonial luminaries, journalists and officials. These included the explorer Ewart Grogan, member of the Royal Niger Company Lord Scarborough, the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* John le Sage, the Liberal politician Henry Labouchere, her successor as Colonial Editor at *The Times*, Leo Amery, the undersecretaries of State for the Colonies, Sydney Buxton and Winston Churchill and later the secretary of State for the Colonies, Lewis Vernon Harcourt, and Secretary of State for War, Lord Haldane.[225] Flora Shaw inhabited an intermediary role between the press and government, facilitated and hindered by her gender, with panache both as a journalist and beyond. However, especially after her retirement from *The Times*, it is hard not to detect a note of tolerance and humouring in her reception at the Colonial Office, possibly to placate Frederick Lugard, as she hectored Winston Churchill, or read Lugard's letters to Harcourt.[226]

[222] Helly and Callaway, 'Journalism as active politics', p. 53-4.
[223] Quoted in Schneer, *1900: Imperial metropolis*, pp. 133-4.
[224] Quoted in Schneer, *1900: Imperial metropolis*, p. 142.
[225] The Weston Library, The University of Oxford, MSS Lugard, 4/1/3, 14, 17, 18, 19, 28, 42, 50 and 68.
[226] The Churchill Papers, Churchill College Cambridge, Char 10/11/22, Flora Lugard - Winston Churchill, 8th May 1906.

The 1890s were a peak in the debate around Greater Britain, especially in the test case of South Africa, as well as the high point of imperial interest more generally.[227] Flora Shaw's work formed a prominent, if high-brow, part of this. Her writings and particularly the 'letters' series from the Dominions coincided with an increase in interest and other writings about the Dominions and particularly South Africa, from figures as disparate as Olive Schreiner and Randolph Churchill.[228] Duncan Bell has traced the evolution and prominence of the debate over 'Greater Britain' in these years as it became increasingly celebrated and promoted in imperialist circles.[229] The public prominence of imperialism in the 1890s has been termed a 'blanket of public enthusiasm' as the empire occupied an ever larger portion of the public consciousness.[230] This view has come under attack from Bernard Porter who opposes this view of British imperial interest, even in his account the 1890s are a peak of imperial interest and participation, albeit a low one.[231]

Two years after Shaw stopped writing for the press, an article in *Lady's Pictorial*, on the eve of her marriage argued that the interest then current in the empire could be dated from 'the moment when Miss Shaw began to write' for *The Times*.[232] Although evidently an exaggeration, written in a paper eager to highlight the work of prominent women, her writings at *The Times* did coincide with an upswing in imperial enthusiasm. Despite this, Flora Shaw seems to have had the continual nagging doubt of the campaigner that her work was never finished. Writing to Frederick Lugard in 1904 she argued that, 'Imperial "sentimentalism" has become the fashion [and] I feel like you, half afraid lest speech may be allowed to take the place of action.'[233] When the empire is considered capable, as she did, of 'raising and enlarging our plane of existence and making of us a finer race than history has seen before' the fashionable, casual imperialism of the Edwardian period could seem frivolous.[234] But these are retrospective analyses of Shaw's impact in generating imperial interest. Her writings, and her judgments on

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[227] John M. Mackenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', in, *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, ed. by Simon Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 31.
[228] Olive Schreiner, *The Story of an African farm* (Harmondsworth: Chapman and Hall, 1883) and Randolph Churchill's letters to the *Daily Graphic* in 1891, republished as Randolph Churchill, M*en, Mines and Animals in South Africa* (London: S. Low, Marston and Company, 1892)
[229] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of the World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
[230] Andrew S. Thompson, 'The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire, Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914', *The Journal of British Studies*, (April 1997), 36:2, p. 152.
[231] Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 92.
[232] *Lady's Pictorial: A Newspaper for the Home*, 18th March 1902, 316, Signed 'Miranda.' Quoted in Helly, 'Flora Shaw and *the Times'*, p. 124.
[233] MSS Lugard. 4/1/12-13. Flora Lugard- Frederick Lugard. Nov 13th 1904.
[234] MSS Lugard. 4/1/18. Flora Lugard- Frederick Lugard. March 31st 1905.

them, do reveal a demand for imperial news often focussed on the settler colonies. We cannot, through Flora Shaw's own opinions, gauge any general level of imperial interest. But it is notable that one person who devoted her life to raising interest in the Empire, considered her work, at least partially, a success.

As a colonial life, Flora Shaw provides a perspective from both traveling across the settler and tropical Empire, and as an established journalist commenting, from London, on different aspects of that Empire.[235] Shaw was peculiar given her gender for not only her occupation, and chosen specialism within it in the masculine world of imperial politics and news, but also her prominence within that occupation. Nevertheless, her position within imperial and colonial networks within Britain means that her views were strikingly representative of, and influential within, a certain section of closely involved imperialist opinion that had a certain set of goals for the empire. Shaw was to some extent the mouthpiece of this imperialism, especially for Cecil Rhodes in South Africa and George Goldie and Frederick Lugard in Nigeria.[236] But Shaw wrote far more than this and presented her own view of empire from within these circles which she influenced.

The Empire, although it represented her life's work and Shaw travelled widely through it, and settled in it with her husband in Hong Kong 1907-1912, was always something she visited and then returned home from. England was her home; the empire, its strength and promotion, were her life's work, but it was never truly her home in the way that her cottage in Abinger, Surrey, was. Shaw took great care in her cottage and its surrounding countryside, writing a diary of nearby walks and keeping a gardening journal of her tasks in later life.[237] The wider British Empire shaped and influenced Flora Shaw deeply, but England, and it was always England and not Britain, the centre of the Empire, always remained her true home.

[235] Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (London: Harper Press, 2007) and *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. By David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
[236] See for example, her articles on West Africa, *The Times*, 17th & 19th April, 1897 'The Royal Niger Company, I & II', pp. 6 & 5.
[237] Oxford. Weston Library, MSS. Brit Emp. S. 590 6/2, 6/3 and 6/4

Gender, Empire, and Flora Shaw's career as a Journalist

The professional prominence, in a deeply masculine environment, of Flora Shaw meant that her gender was a source of fascination for her contemporaries.[238] Her position and influence have inevitably meant that historians have considered Shaw in a gendered way, looking at her career for clues about the boundaries of gender roles in the professional sphere in the 1890s.[239] Some contemporaries argued that her gender was beneficial in interviews. In Australia, according to Lady Jersey, who was presumably drawing on discussions or Shaw's own opinion, her gender 'won the hearts of the Queensland planters who introduced her to many sides of plantation life which they never would have troubled themselves to show a mere man.'[240] This was before Shaw held a prominent position at *The Times.* But this position was attained in no small part due to the patronage of Charles Moberly Bell, who had to disguise her identity to the proprietor until he admired one of her articles.[241] This is not to deny the skill, research and effort that brought Shaw to Bell's attention, or her commanding ability in the editorial role, simply that without patronage such as this, Shaw could not have secured the prominent position she did. Moberly Bell, Managing Editor of *The Times*, in securing her a salaried position knew how daunting a task it would be to convince the proprietor and editor to accept a woman onto their staff. John Walters, the proprietor, had 'a horror of females doing anything' and Shaw's position on the editorial staff was only gained when, greatly impressed by her letters from South Africa, Bell revealed Shaw's gender to him.[242] Women, and Shaw was no exception, invariably had to prove themselves in a remarkable and eye-catching way, with key male support, to gain a foothold in what had been an exclusively masculine world. Professionalism and research in her writing was also highly prized as she was praised by Lord Cromer for the 'lucid, detailed and absolutely correct' nature of her financial reporting as *The Englishwoman's Review* proudly noted in 1893.[243] Nevertheless, Shaw, as many female writers did, often partially disguised her identity in her writing. But, although her gender was masked in her writing, and her journalism was always written in the dispassionate and analytical male tone

[238] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class home in Victorian England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 174-5.
[239] Schneer, *1900*, p. 133; O'Helly, 'Flora Shaw and the Times', p. 124.
[240] Margaret Elizabeth Leigh Child-Villiers Jersey, *Fifty one Years of a Victorian Life* (New York: E.P Dutton & Co., 1922), p. 323 https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=miun.abs7618.0001.001;view=1up;seq=349 Accessed 14/04/17
[241] Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 53-4
[242] E. H. C. Moberly Bell, *The Life and Letters of C. F. Moberly Bell* (London: The Richards Press, 1927), p. 156.
[243] *The Englishwoman's Review*, April 15th 1893, pp. 112-3.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31970026821279;view=1up;seq=133 Accessed 18/04/17

that *The Times* embodied; Shaw's identity was not a secret, especially after the publication of her letters from South Africa as a book in London in 1894. This was noted in colonial newspapers *The Queenslander* and the *Launceston Examiner* as it coincided with the appearance of her letters on Australia in *The Times*, which received favourable notice in Australia.[244] Nor was she averse to campaigning in person. Shaw's speech on 'The Australian Outlook' to the Royal Colonial Institute in 1894 was noticed in Australia for its positive picture of the colony as well as *Punch* in London, which mocked her for encouraging people to emigrate before Australia was ready.[245]

Flora Shaw inhabited the empire in more forms than as a London-bound female journalist. Her tours of the settler colonies situate her as an idiosyncratic example of what Dea Birkett has termed *Spinsters Abroad*.[246] Her colonial tour in 1892-3, unchaperoned and largely self-directed, takes her into the historiographical company of fellow female travellers such as Mary Kingsley. Although there were increasing numbers of women who undertook travels in the Empire, this historiography has often closely mirrored that of male explorers and travellers as women travellers tended to present themselves as 'typical English gentlemen - and gentlemen of action to boot.'[247] Nevertheless, this imitative similarity, which should not be overstated, is itself revealing of the way female travellers could inhabit the British Empire. The independence of this and subsequent tours of empire evidently spoke to the side of Flora Shaw that rejected the marriage proposals and the calm life of domesticity they offered in her late teens. Ambition and a crusading personality found its cause in the empire. Writing on empire gave her freedom and independence and Shaw, in her private correspondence, talks confidently about her independent travels, even to remote areas of the empire like the Klondike in 1898.[248] But the evidence of Flora Shaw's travels in the empire tend to reinforce the arguments of Sara Mills, Laura E. Ciolowski and others. Women in the empire, although transgressing some traditional gender roles in travelling in the empire, often served to solidify rather than undermine

[244] "THE LADIES' PAGE." *Western Mail (Perth, WA : 1885 - 1954)* 13 May 1893: 49. Web. 7 Aug 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article33078313>. "ENGLISH NOTES." *The Queenslander (Brisbane, Qld. : 1866 - 1939)* 1 April 1893: 605. Web. 7 Aug 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article20340063>.

[245] 'Trop De Zèle!' *Punch*, 20 Jan. 1894, p. 26. Punch Historical Archive, 1841-1992, gdc.galegroup.com. Accessed 28 Feb. 2017. "Australia in Rose Colour" *The Telegraph (Brisbane, Qld. : 1872 - 1947)* 1 March 1894: 7. Web. 7 Aug 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article172551034>. "CURRENT TOPICS." *Launceston Examiner (Tas: 1842 - 1899)* 8 December 1893: 5. Web. 7 Aug 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article39494392>

[246] Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989)

[247] Dorothy Hammond, Alta Jablow, Charles R. Lawrence, *The Africa that Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing about Africa* (New York: Twayne, 1970), p. 84-5. See also Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (Rosemont Publishing, Cranbury, 2006), p. 24.

[248] See for instance, her discussions with Charles Moberly Bell on her 1898 trip to Canada, MSS Brit Emp. S. 590 4/5/14-19

contemporary concepts of womanhood.[249] Nevertheless, Shaw occupied a definite vantage-point in her journalism which could be exploited and allowed her writings to be bolder around issues of gender, the danger of the empire for women, as well as having her own views on issues of emigration and imperial expansion.

Flora Shaw's physical and practical position in travelling through the empire in these different tours, as well as her intellectual and ideological one, is important to consider in relation to her writings. As a correspondent for *The Times*, Shaw's travel was organised and expected in each place and she arrived as a figure of authority. During her 1892-3 tour, in Durban in 1892 she recalled in a letter that the 'honours of a *Times* correspondent have sometimes their inconvenient side' when she was awoken from her sleeping carriage because the Mayor wished to put his own carriage at her disposal.[250] Shaw was accorded interviews with prominent political people in the colonies such as the President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, and the Prime Minister of Queensland, Sir Samuel Griffiths, who called on her, on her first morning in Brisbane.[251] The Premier of South Australia, Sir John Downer, had dinner with Shaw whilst she was in Sydney and she stayed with local luminary, judge and politician William Charles Windeyer, along with the Premier, over Christmas 1892.[252] Her travel was unaccompanied, although she did briefly have companions at different points, as well as guides provided, such as those who took her down Broken Hill mine in Australia.[253] But, largely, Flora Shaw was an unaccompanied female journalist, keeping to a bruising itinerary, across the settler colonies. Although noted as a *Times* journalist, Shaw's travels were conducted through public transport and as such were a far cry from the grand processions of Winston Churchill or Theodore Roosevelt in East Africa.[254]

Throughout these social events and tours, Shaw projected an aura of feminine respectability throughout her travels. E. Moberly Bell records that Shaw was, even in the most remote

[249] Laura E. Ciolowski, 'Travelers' tales: Empire, Victorian Travel and the spectacle of English Womanhood in Mary Kingsley's "Travels in West Africa"', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 26:2 (1998), pp. 338-9; Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 22.
[250] Flora Shaw Papers, Weston Library, The University of Oxford, Flora Shaw – Lulu, August 24th, 1892, MSS. Brit Emp. S. 590 1/1/34
[251] Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 123.
[252] "Sydney Social News." *The Queenslander (Brisbane, Qld.: 1866 - 1939)* 14 January 1893: 53. Web. 7 Aug 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article20337792>.
[253] (FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From Australia." *The Times*, 14 July 1893, p. 3. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZd55. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017. Broken Hill was the basis of the modern mining conglomerate BHP Billiton, the BH standing for Broken Hill.
[254] Roderick P. Neumann, 'Churchill and Roosevelt in Africa: Performing and Writing Landscapes of Race, Empire, and Nation', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, (2013) 103:6, pp. 1371-1388.

locations, 'dressed now, as always, like an English gentlewoman, her hair neatly coiled, her skirts of ladylike length, and her neck piece carefully fastened.'[255] Her decorum and place as an Englishwoman travelling abroad was tied up with her appearance. Her professional dresses, always black until her marriage, reinforced her femininity and position as an English lady in the masculine context of the colonies. This was an important part of Shaw's retrospective self-image that was built up, not only around her but women in the empire more broadly. Shaw recorded her efforts with her clothing in her private letters, such as her efforts to remain respectably dressed after one of her dresses caught fire on an Australian train, burning through her outer dress and part of her petticoat before it was extinguished. Shaw was then concerned to 'safeguard the dignity of *The Times* in the person of its correspondent by holding my truncated garments together as respectably as I could.'[256] In the empire, Shaw's clothing, and this was a conspicuous part of the psychology of many colonial travellers and settlers, differentiated her not only from colonial men, but the different indigenous peoples of the empire. Shaw played far less upon on this imagery in her public persona than other women travellers such as Mary Kingsley, but it was still evidently an important aspect of her imperial identity.[257] With a confidence seemingly born of her class and upbringing, Flora Shaw was not intimidated by travelling and working alone and she interviewed men in the colonies widely. Her private diary in Australia in 1892 records interviews with miners, bushmen, businessmen, shearers and strikers.[258] She relates in a letter to Charles Moberly Bell her conversation on the practicalities of travel to the Klondike in 1898 with an 'expert Klondyker of disreputable appearance' and her self-assurance was such that when he recommended to her that she take a revolver, she recorded, after practicing with one in the woods, 'I don't much believe in the need ever to use one so long as you are known to carry it.'[259] She further emphasised, in her speech to the RCI on returning that, 'I had not been three days in the country before I realised that a revolver was about as likely to be useful as it would be in Piccadilly. In the presence of untamed nature all humanity is friendly.'[260] Shaw held her own in her travels in the empire, assertive and determined in her pursuit of interviewing and writing, she forged her own niche in the empire.

[255] Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 204-5.
[256] MSS. Brit Emp. S. 590, 1/1/41-3, Flora Shaw – Louise Shaw, 9th Oct, 1892
[257] Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad*, p. 91; Anderson, *women and the politics of travel*, p. 199
[258] MSS Brit Emp. S. 590, 6/7/41, Dec 22nd 1892.
[259] MSS Brit Emp. S. 590, 4/5/14 & 19, Flora Shaw- C. Moberly Bell, June 17th, 1898
[260] Shaw, 'Klondike', p. 188.

Flora Shaw became accustomed to her independence, not only in travelling and writing across the globe, but also in supporting her four sisters in London, providing a house on 130 Cambridge Street, Pimlico, from her £800 p.a. salary.[261] The head of this household, the empire was Shaw's way of circumventing the male hierarchies of Victorian Britain. Like many female travellers at the time Shaw found a mission and place through the empire. She expanded this professionally as a journalist and then in an imperial partnership with Frederick Lugard.[262] Nevertheless this independence did not extend to an ideology of feminism or the prospect of female emancipation in the empire. Shaw became increasingly socially conservative after her marriage to Frederick Lugard in terms of gender. She signed the letter opposing female suffrage in *The Times* in 1910 and never subscribed to contemporary feminism, although there is no record of her campaigning on this issue past participating in this letter.[263] Shaw recognised and emphasised the female role as an influence upon the decision makers, men. Shaw took pride, as can be seen in the character of Nessa in her first novel *Castle Blair*, in the soothing and guiding position women could attain in relation to men. Murtagh, the headstrong young boy who is the protagonist of the novel, schemes against the intransigence of Mr Plunkett, the overseer. But it is Nessa, the soothing female figure who talks him down from further impetuous action, encourages and loves him; bringing him closer to the ideal moderation, whilst evidently capable of vigorous action, which a true gentleman should be.[264] From this early example, reiterated by her later imperial writings it is evident that whilst Shaw was independent and single-minded, she wrote and thought within the dominant male imperial discourses of the day.

Shaw identified with the empire-builders of the late Victorian age, as her relationships with George Goldie and Frederick Lugard amply attest, but she viewed it as an essentially male endeavour that she should not actively join. Women, whether they were pro or anti suffrage often considered themselves to have different imperial roles to men. As Julia Bush has noted, and Flora Shaw maintained, this is often where their intrinsic value was seen to lie, especially in the masculine world of the empire.[265] In the decade after 1900 Flora Shaw was part of

[261] Lulu, Marie and Allie as well as Shaw herself were supported by Shaw's salary of £800 a year. Bell, *Flora Shaw*, pp. 164-5.
[262] Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad*, p. 19.
[263] 'Anti Woman-Suffrage Appeal.' *The Times*, 21 July 1910, p. 9. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4gacu6. Accessed 18 Apr. 2017.
[264] See for one example in many, Flora L. Shaw, *Castle Blair: A Story of Youthful Days, Vol. I* (London: C. Kegan & Paul, 1878), pp. 185-9.
[265] Julia Bush, *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 132-3.

imperialist women's circles and her views were comparable to figures such as Violet Markham, Lady Jeune and Lady Jersey, although Shaw tended to be relatively quiet within these societies and her views not quite as strongly, or perhaps publicly, expressed.[266] Nevertheless, areas of overlap between Shaw's conception of imperialism and gender roles have been traced. Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway have linked Shaw's traditional views on gender roles and ideas of male domestic authority with her concept of English imperial rule.[267] Ideologies of dominance permeated her beliefs in male authority and supported her belief in the moderating female influence that she advocated settlers required. This was intrinsically linked to her belief in English dominance over other races across the globe.[268]

Despite her internalisation of the male imperial role, Flora Shaw resisted the prescriptive gender roles of the late Victorian era by rejecting marriage until late in life and pursuing an independent position supporting herself and her sisters. She supported an independent role for women to work, although this did not extend to support for women's suffrage, broadly accepting the supporting position of women in society. The work and the cause to which she had devoted herself was the essence of her ideology. As she wrote to her husband, with some false modesty, 'Fame somehow doesn't interest me. I have never cared for it. I daresay that is only the bent of a woman's mind. We are brought up that way – rather to shun than court public notice.'[269] There is perhaps something here of Shaw telling Lugard what she thought he wanted to hear, early in their marriage. During their engagement there is evidence that she saw their upcoming marriage more as a projected partnership, writing that she was looking forward to a time when they would be at home when 'occupation will be found for you at home and we shall work in the thick of it side by side.'[270] A few years later in their marriage, Shaw seems to have started to see herself in a more traditional gender role, writing to him that she was looking forward to his return from Nigeria and after

> the labours of the field to rest a little in the sheltered spot which you have provided… for your wife to live in. And the wife whom you have left there will be very very glad to see you. She has been making ready for you for eighteen

[266] Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 3, 111, 186.
[267] Helly and Callaway, 'Crusader for Empire', p. 92.
[268] Helly and Callaway, 'Crusader for Empire', p. 85.
[269] MSS Lugard 4/1/12 Flora Shaw – Frederick Lugard, 13th Nov 1904
[270] Schneer, *1900*, p. 146.

> months and hopes to give you now peace and gladness and perhaps fresh strength with which to go out again to the work of life.[271]

Nevertheless, to the end of her life the letters between the Lugards' were intensely political. During his second stint in Nigeria from 1914-1919 Flora was, as always, informed of and encouraged her husband's schemes in Nigeria and elsewhere. She encouraged him to think of himself as she did, as 'a servant of England, not of the Colonial Office' which they often deplored. With a view to securing a more sympathetic Colonial Office, she read parts of his letters to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lewis Harcourt, until he was moved in a cabinet shuffle in 1915.[272] Shaw recognised and accepted the limits of women's public roles and although she strained the edges of these, she did not wish to bring about fundamental change. This was an oft commented upon aspect of her work and personality by her contemporaries. Leo Amery, her successor as Colonial editor at *The Times*, friend and correspondent in the last 30 years of her life, praised her along with Gertrude Bell as a conspicuous example 'of feminine ability and enthusiasm directed to a specific field', but could not help adding that they both did this 'without loss of womanly grace and charm'.[273] The ability to take on male roles and jobs without losing her appearance of femininity was critical to her colleagues as well as to herself. Through journalism, tireless advocacy and in a supporting capacity that she accepted, Shaw furthered the cause to which she devoted her life, the British Empire.

The envisioned role for women in the empire was articulated most clearly in her seventh letter from Canada in 1898. In this letter, Shaw gives a detailed account of how a young Englishman could come to the prairies in Canada. This advice was distilled to, 'be ready to encounter hardship, but bring your wife or sister and fortunes are there to be made.'[274] Helping brothers or husbands settle on the prairies, women would help provide 'the accustomed addenda of existence' without which 'the young Englishman passes without transition to a savage state.'[275] Shaw encouraged this type of emigration because she was convinced that increasing the domesticity in the settler colonies was essential to their wellbeing and their strength. This was the female imperialists' role, to provide the surroundings in which the male settlers could forge

[271] Weston Library, The University of Oxford. Letter to Frederick Lugard, MSS Lugard 4/1, April 11th 1905,
[272] Weston Library, The University of Oxford, Letter to Frederick Lugard, MSS Lugard, 4/1. 1913.
[273] Leo Amery, *My Political Life: Vol. I England Before the Storm, 1896-1914* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), p. 142
[274] 'Letters From Canada.' *The Times*, 22 Nov. 1898, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Ha6v4. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[275] 'Letters From Canada', *The Times*, 22. Nov 1898, p. 6.

an England anew. 'Man wins the battle, but woman holds the field' as she put it in her speech on the Klondike to the RCI in 1898.[276] They were to bring a civilising influence into the hard lives of settlers and to mitigate this harshness of life by providing the creature comforts of the home, hence the recurring emphasis on domesticity and character.[277] Shaw argued for the emigration of women and their civilising effect in her 'letter' articles in 1893-4. She reiterated it more forcefully in 1898 and maintained this recommendation despite criticism that she was suggesting 'that Englishmen should make absolute slaves of their sisters.'[278] The place of her gender in the British Empire was integral to its success. Femininity was vital and domesticity, 'became the colonial task given to women'; colonisation in settler colonies where new 'Englands' were being made could not be done with masculinity alone.[279]

To Shaw, the realisation of the vision of settling families and communities correcting the 'serious disproportion between men and women' would be 'of permanent value to the future of the race'.[280] This accompanying and soothing role was one that Shaw tried to act herself in both Nigeria and Hong Kong in later life with her husband Frederick Lugard. Illness prevented her remaining long in Nigeria, but in Hong Kong she helped him adjust to a position that he did not attach as much importance to as the one he had left in West Africa. Nevertheless, and although illness again intermittently forced her back to England, Shaw played the society hostess, as Frederick 'hated the social side'.[281] Her diaries record visits to hospitals and jails as well as social visits in the colony.[282] She encouraged Frederick, who saw his post in Hong Kong as something akin to exile and hankered after his, as he saw it, more substantial work. Frederick wished to continue his work in Nigeria, but Shaw records in a letter to her sister that 'I expect life here will be very tolerable if Fred can get interested in the work.'[283] Shaw's influence on her husband can be seen as she encouraged him to invest himself in schemes such as the founding of the University of Hong Kong, which he credited to her 'strong instigation'.[284] Shaw may have been happy to play support for her husband, but that does not mean that her

[276] Flora Shaw, 'Klondike', *The Royal Colonial Institute: Report of Proceedings vol. XXX*, no. 3. p. 190.
[277] Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 36-7; Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', History Workshop, 5 (1978), pp. 9-65. Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of women in Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1975), pp. 291-4.
[278] 'English Ladies on the Prairies' *Morning Post*. 14th Jan 1899, p. 3.
[279] Philippa Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?' in *Gender and Empire*, ed. By Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 8.
[280] 'Letters From Canada' *The Times*, 22. Nov 1898, p. 6.
[281] Margery Perham, *Lugard The Years of Authority: 1898-1945* (London: Collins, 1960), p. 289.
[282] Oxford, Weston Library. MSS. Brit Emp. S. 67. 166-170. See entries from Aug 24th – Sept 2nd 1907
[283] Oxford, Weston Library. MSS. Brit Emp. S. 590. 1/5/15, 3rd Aug, 1907.
[284] Frederick Lugard- Flora Lugard, 2nd December 1909. Quoted in Perham, p. 348.

influence and interest in the politics of the colony was not widespread, incisive, and profound.[285]

The Publicisation of Settlement and Greater Britain

Although Flora Shaw's actions in the empire were ambiguous and transgressive in their role for gender to a certain degree, her over-riding imperial vision was nevertheless couched in masculine terms. Before 1902, this vision for the British Empire was primarily defined in terms of the settler colonies. Hers was the late Victorian dream of Englands beyond the sea, Greater Britain as a globe-encompassing state that could compete with the emerging United States in size and population.[286] Her vision of this mirrored Charles Dilke's and J. R. Seeley's conception of a global state based on Britishness, but it struggled in the more anxious atmosphere of the 1890s-1900s with the racial solidarity through whiteness as it concerned the United States. The frontier, settler communities of the empire were not just English societies abroad, they were the next step for the race; frontier culture was the rugged peak of contemporary white masculine identity.[287] Many of Shaw's articles in the 1890s and particularly the 'letters' from South Africa, Australia and Canada, partially read like advertisements and practical guides for prospective settlers. Pitching her articles at the industrious middle classes and the financial classes with capital, Shaw described in detail the mining in South Africa, sugar plantations in Queensland, prairie farming in Canada and gold prospecting in the Klondike. Settling in the colonies offered, in Shaw's presentation, the prospect of a better life, if they only had the wit and industry to take it. The ambiguous place of Shaw's role in relation to her gender served 'the interests of the dominant discourse, but at the same time they subversively resist the stable logic of opposition – men's sphere/women's sphere – by which late nineteenth century culture defined itself.'[288] Shaw conceived of gender roles traditionally, but her independence, travelling, and strength of purpose acted to undermine the system she supported.

The emigration that Flora Shaw advocated as a part of imperial female gender roles was gathering apace in the late nineteenth century.[289] Emigration from Britain was widely

[285] Peter Cunich, *A History of The University of Hong Kong, Volume 1, 1911-1945.* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2012), p. 90.
[286] For this aspect of competition within notions of Anglo-Saxon solidarity, see Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 166-181
[287] Bill Schwarz, *Memories of Empire Volume I: The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 84.
[288] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p. 44.
[289] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 42.

commented upon during this period, but the concern of many, committed imperialists and others, was about where this exodus was going. The United States was attracting greater numbers of emigrants than the empire, and there was a concern amongst imperialists and nationalists that this flow of people outside the empire weakened Britain whilst strengthening another power.[290] Shaw was far from alone in her regret that the 'natural outlets of emigration are largely directed upon foreign countries'. But amongst many in the working classes, the United States represented greater personal freedom as a Republic and economic opportunity. For Shaw, the solution to this was a more managed approach to emigration and employment in the settler colonies. The problems of unemployment and overpopulation in Britain itself, and the surplus capital it had, coupled with the demands for labour and money in the settler colonies meant that the issue was 'simply one of distribution'.[291] A greater focus on the empire as an organic whole, as one possessing a single economy, would benefit each separate part, but England had to take the lead. England had the 'surplus labour and immense mass of capital' which the colonies lacked.[292] Much of the detailed information on the prospects of different industries in each of the colonies which Shaw reported in her letters coupled this labour and capital and read like pitches for investment. This is precisely because they were meant to achieve just that. Mindful of the financial, business and government readers of *The Times*, Shaw was unabashed in advertising to them the benefits of investing money and circumventing perceived barriers from doing this. Part of the justification that she gave to Moberly Bell for her trip to the Klondike in 1898 was linked to this pitch for capital. 'If the Yukon is really as big a thing as it promises to be I think it is for British as well as American capital to be encouraged to flow into the gold fields.'[293] The industrial and agricultural health of the areas that she visited mattered because if this declined then the colonies would appear less attractive to those emigrating from Britain. Emigration was intended as an economic and social boon for Britain as well as the colonies in question, but it was also an economic and personal tie between the colonies, perceived as a crucial step towards creating Greater Britain.[294] Shaw's seemingly dispassionate economics always had a political edge. The economic prosperity of the colonies

[290] Bell, *Greater Britain*, p. 54.
[291] 'The Colonies' 2nd Feb 1891, *The Times*, p. 4. See, E. H. H. Green, 'The Political Economy of Empire, 1880-1914' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. By William Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.346-367
[292] 'Letters From Australia.' *The Times*, 31 Jan. 1893, p. 3. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZcf2. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[293] MSS Brit Emp. S. 590. 4/5/1
[294] Bell, *Greater Britain*, pp. 53-4.

mattered to her because they were so close to simply being part of the globe-spanning Britain that she saw as already partially established in the manners and customs of the places she visited.

A passion for emigration was, according to the slightly contrived narrative of Shaw's first biographer E.M Bell, supposedly born, for Flora Shaw, from a belief that she had developed in the East End of London from her brief charitable work with Mary Steer during the 1880s. Seeing the docks and their links to the wider world, the empire represented an escape from the overcrowded and filthy streets of London filled with vice. It was 'a road inviting them to pass from sin and dirt and misery to space.'[295] Although Shaw remarks on many occupations which emigrants could enter, she emphasised ones in agriculture. Settling overseas would be doubly beneficial. It would relieve over-crowding in the dingy inner-cities of Britain, but she also hoped that through emigration 'the life of those younger and more virile communities might renew the heart of the Empire.'[296] The effective settlement of the colonies would rebuild the energy of the empire whilst at the same time 'carry with it something not far removed from the settlement of our most pressing social questions.'[297]

The articles in which Shaw actively advertised for settlers and investors were closely linked to an appreciation of the salutary effects of a life lived away from the cities and close to the land. Although she was sounding a clarion call for settlers to the mining industries in South Africa and Australia, it is the prospect of independent farming either on the prairies in Canada or plantations in tropical Australia that were at the heart of emigration appeals.[298] A connection with the soil, and life closer to nature, was seen by many as synonymous with healthiness and virtue; the romance of the strong and independent yeoman contrasted with the sickly city-dweller was seductive. The land of the empire, its bounty and agricultural potential was a powerful romantic image, as Paul Readman has argued, and this formed a compelling ideal for Shaw and many imperialists.[299] For some this appeal of agriculture was used as an argument for land reform in England rather than emigration. Nevertheless, the lure of the frontier with its promise of plenty could be paired with an argument for the beneficial effect of pioneering work upon morality and character. The hardy work of empire had salutary effects on character.

[295] Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 37.
[296] Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 47.
[297] 'The Colonies.' *The Times*, 31st July 1894, p. 3. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4NUf40. Accessed 15 Feb. 2017.
[298] Bell, *Greater Britain*, pp. 52-3
[299] Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, And the Politics of the Land, 1880-1914* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society, 2008), p. 72

Similarly, emigration could only benefit those who would honestly labour for it, but it would also create these honest labourers.

The maintenance of these settler colonies, as economically strong, loyal communities to the Crown was a central part of Flora Shaw's political vision for the British Empire. Shaw also from the mid-1890s onwards and from her increasing interest in West Africa, was far more sceptical of Seeley's separation of the Crown from the settler colonies.[300] The unified strength of these settler communities would mean that, as Shaw wrote in her assessment in 1905, 'the organism of Great Britain has become Greater Britain.'[301] Shaw maintained that simple arithmetic meant that Britain had to consider the populations of the tropical empire in any Greater Britain. Married to Frederick Lugard by this date, then High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, she was adamant that the tropical colonies, were 'factors in the imperial position which we cannot afford to ignore.' The settler colonies have 'for a long time received a large share of public attention', and by the mid-1900s she had shifted from her evangelisation of the settler colonies to attempting to foster a vision, with her husband, of an empire which paid much more attention to the development of West Africa.[302] Nevertheless, until the mid-1890s and this shift in her ideas, Shaw was broadly in agreement with Dilke's conception of Greater Britain, although she did have certain areas of disagreement, particularly in seeing the USA as a competitor rather than an integral part of the English abroad as well as attempting to consider the tropical Empire within the same frame.[303] Shaw saw the unity of the settler colonies and Britain as, to an extent, already achieved by their similarity in manners and outlook on life. Although in practical political terms Shaw believed imperial unity to be 'doubtful', she stoutly maintained that she does not 'give up on it at all'. Her journalism was her work towards an Empire in 'which the parts shall be self-governing and the whole united.'[304]

Shaw also argued that 'geographical arguments no longer count among the arguments why colonial representatives should not be sent to Westminster' due to the improvements in communication and travel.[305] This was a goal she was working towards by making 'the colonies better known to each other.' In Australia, Shaw met an ardent Australian nationalist

[300] Behm, *Imperial History*, p. 30.
[301] Lady Lugard, 'Tropics of the Empire' in *The Empire and the Century*, ed. By Charles Sydney Goldman and Rudyard Kipling (London: Charles Murray, 1905), pp. 818-9.
[302] Lady Lugard, 'Tropics of the Empire', pp. 817-9.
[303] Bell, *Greater Britain*, pp. 106-8.
[304] MSS Brit Emp. S. 590 1/1/116. Flora Shaw to Louise Shaw, 21st May 1893.
[305] 'Letters from Australia', *The Times*, 2 Aug, 1893, p. 3 The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZdr5. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017

before whom she could barely restrain her laughter at 'his attempt to denationalise himself'. This figure was, she records, 'an absurdly English man' who could 'no more cast out the English twist from his brain than he could drain the English blood from his veins.' The Australian people were all so English in their psychology and because 'English history is the English race', Australia was 'just an extended England'.[306] Despite Australia's population being less English than the UK, Shaw presumed that these settlers, remaining under the flag as the did, formed part of an extended England which encompassed any former inhabitants of the British isles. Distance alone could not rob the settlers of their nationality and this globe-spanning English settlement was something to welcome. The 1890s was a decade in which the perception amongst many imperialist commentators emerged that the growing strength of the USA and the encroachments of Russia in Asia were making a geopolitical world in which size and population were key.[307] Shaw remarked in her speech to the Royal Colonial Institute in 1894, implying more than a degree of competition as well as comparison, that 'a race which has already given to history the United States of America has no need to flinch from an ideal of the United Nations of Great Britain.'[308]

Nevertheless, Shaw did sometimes, in private, sound less of a missionary clarion call for settlers. In a letter to her sister Louise from Saskatchewan just after she had arrived in Canada, Shaw professed herself, 'not at all favourably impressed' with the energy and industry of the Canadians who, it seemed to her had more the 'happy-go-lucky theories of the Irish character' than the grit needed of the British settler.[309] She echoed these sentiments in some of her published articles, albeit rarely and in far softer tones, and does caution that the settler lifestyle was not for everyone. Her published warnings about the perils of isolated life on the character of a settler are not rare, although this was mainly aimed at encouraging productive and serious aims. Shaw warned from Australia, drawing from her own encounters with settlers, that, 'the isolation of the back country […] has a roughening, even brutalising effect, which not ten men in a hundred are able to resist.' The loss of 'intercourse with his equals', from which the indigenous inhabitants of any area of the empire are excluded, which is held to be one of the 'needs of civilised man' is 'the greatest privation which the young English gentleman has to

[306] MSS Brit Emp. S. 590/6/7 & 590/6/7-8 Diary in Australia, Oct 15th 1892
[307] Such as William Gresswell in the *National Review*. Admiral P. H. Colomb and Charles Dilke were also part of a team which wrote "The War of 189-" an invasion novel in which Britain has to fight both France and Russia. See Bell, *Greater Britain*, pp. 38-9.
[308] Flora Shaw, 'The Australian Outlook' *Royal Colonial Institute: Report of Proceedings Vol. XXV, 1893-4*, p. 154.
[309] MSS Brit Emp. 590/1/1/110, Flora Shaw- Louise Shaw, 18th May 1893.

endure' in the Empire.[310] Shaw's conception of the empire which is revealed here was not one based on class, the key was character, and a willingness for hard graft, a virtue she considered far more common amongst individuals with a background in trades and agriculture.

Imperialism had been linked, in some of Shaw's earlier writing, with a militarism that she disapproved of. Shaw's writing in the 1880s, particularly her articles on Morocco and her novel, *Colonel Cheswick's Campaign,* express a certain ambivalence, if not hostility, towards empire. In the novel a strong-willed daughter admonishes her father going to fight the Egyptians, 'your sense as a man forces you to admit that the Egyptians have a grievance – as a Soldier you want to go and kill them for it.'[311] The invasion of Egypt was the ugly face of imperialism that she would not accept until more than ten years later, when she considered an insurrection in the Transvaal as the means to a greater end in the Union of South Africa. Elsewhere, in some of her first published journalism, she argues that there were abuses in Morocco which were 'not accidental but inherent' in the system that the civilised powers had imposed.[312] Whilst interviewing Al-Zubayr Rahma Mansur Pasha in Gibraltar at the end of 1886, Shaw decried the militarism of British imperialism, arguing in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton that the soldiers who were in Gibraltar meant that, 'we sound the war note as though we were still in the heart of the middle ages'. But even this early scepticism revolved around the possible militarism of the empire rather than imperialism itself. She described in the same letter that rather than the aggressive imperialism that Britain seems to be employing in Morocco, Britain should act imperially, but in a different manner, and focus on 'the civilisation which we have spread and that depends on other forces than the force of the cannon.'[313] As with most in late Victorian Britain, criticising the empire rarely meant a call for its abolition, just its reform.[314] Nevertheless, even this mild criticism quickly disappeared from Shaw's writing.

Despite these caveats and the perils of empire for the unwary or lazy; the right kind of hard-working settlers, ones with character, independence and good luck, could reap great benefits from settling across the British Empire. The descriptions of landscapes, as majestic, bountiful

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[310] 'Letters From Australia.' *The Times*, 5 Apr. 1893, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZeS7. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[311] Quoted in Helly, 'Flora Shaw and *The Times'*, p. 113
[312] 'The abuses we are maintaining in Morocco.-II.' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 Dec. 1887, p. 3. British Library Newspapers, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Mm722. Accessed 13 Feb 2017.
[313] Flora Shaw – Charles Eliot Norton, 12th December 1886. 4443, Papers of Charles Eliot Norton, Houghton Library, Harvard University
[314] Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 45-6.

and grandly forbidding, with which Shaw usually begins her series of letters from the different settler colonies were an integral part of her conception of the colonies. Paul Fussell, writing about interwar travel writing has noted an 'attraction-repulsion dynamic' as writers grappled with the differences and similarities of 'Abroad'.[315] Writing about the settler colonies tended to the attraction side of this dynamic. Although the British were undoubtedly concerned with taming the land, the landscape was portrayed as more hospitable as emigration to these colonies was often an aim of the literature. The very landscape was portrayed as reminiscent of Britain, calling settlers to it. These foreign landscapes in South Africa and Australia were presented as being peculiarly British in their appearance, encouraging a comforting familiarity in prospective landscape.

In the opening section of the seventh letter from South Africa, Shaw described the landscape from the train where, 'in places the rocky sides are aflame with scarlet blossom, then there come long stretches of grass as green as the meadows of Essex.'[316] The feminisation of this landscape is also far less marked, instead it is comfortingly familiar as an integral part of the English pastoral. Even in her trip to the Klondike in 1898, trekking on foot and steamer into remote North-western Canada, Shaw stubbornly compared the landscape, climate and feel of her surroundings in English ways. Shaw introduced her first letter by repudiating its image as '"Our Lady of the Snows."' Instead, she described her six-day train journey across the country to Lake Bennett, admittedly in summer, as 'a land of clover and roses, […] the continuity of which is only interrupted by noble waterways and by mountain ranges of magnificent proportions.' This, Shaw argued, was an 'instructive prelude' to 'the conditions of contemporary development in Canada'.[317] This trip was widely reported both locally and internationally, with *The New York Times*, reprinting an article from the *Montreal Herald*, marvelling at her making this trip 'without female companions and without reliance on other than her own indomitable spirit.'[318] Shaw capitalised upon this widespread interest by giving a speech to the RCI about her trip. In this, Shaw played upon her gender. She assured listeners that if she could make the journey, so could they, the landscape and climate was not as insurmountable as it may appear. In summer, 'the severity of glacial scenery disappears' and the traveller is in 'the wild and romantic outlines of lake country'. Reassuringly, 'familiar

[315] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 203.
[316] Flora Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, VII (London: Macmillan, 1893), p. 89
[317] (FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From Canada." Times, 27 Aug. 1898, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Ha7M1. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[318] *New York Times*, 31st October 1898.

English blossoms meet the eye, and sunshine falls on emerald green islands and turf-clad slopes, where it is scarcely possible to believe that the hand of cultivation has never been.'[319] Conjuring up reassuring images of the landscape which called to mind the 'scenery of the Scottish Highlands', Shaw had her eye on promoting emigration and British investment in Canada. With the firm intention to invite British emigration and capital, Shaw used her descriptions of the landscape to combat any negative associations difference might have in the British Empire.

The settler colonies were not often represented, as the interior of Africa was, as a land ripe for explorers cutting their way through jungle into her womb. They wanted settling families, women as well as men. Nevertheless, there is more than a little of what Mary Louise Pratt has termed the, 'Monarch-of-all-I-survey scene' in this writing.[320] The reader is placed, alongside the writer in these letters in *The Times*, later published as a book, in a position of authority to the landscapes described; proprietorially interpreting it for the benefit of the British back home.

In projecting this notion of Englishness and character across the empire, Shaw's articles on the settler colonies tie her into an increasing conception of a British World.[321] This Englishness, across the British world, was also one which could be simply carried with the international and imperial traveller 'portable boundaries of race' which allowed the projection of identity onto their surroundings.[322] Shaw was attempting to encourage emigration to an area which she presented as, at least in part, comfortingly familiar to the prospective emigrants she was aiming at. Shaw was conscious and emphatic in the aim of her advocacy. Her writing was aimed at creating prosperous and skilled emigration by those willing to construct a wider Britain, not just any British emigrant willing to try their luck. In presenting Australia, Shaw states

[319] Flora Shaw, 'The Klondike', *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 31st January 1899, pp. 186-235., p. 197. https://archive.org/details/cihm_15527/page/n3 Accessed 21/11/2018

[320] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992), p. 197.

[321] The literature on the British World is now vast. *The British World: Diaspora, culture and identity* ed. By Carl Bridges and Kent Fodorowich (London: F.Cass, 2003) is often seen as inaugurating this shift in perception. Studies, examining very different aspects of this, which take the British world as their referent include, John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The rise and fall of the British World System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Simon Potter, *Broadcasting Empire: The BBC and the British World, 1922-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

[322] James Buzard, 'Portable Boundaries: Trollope, Race, and Travel', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 32:1, (2010), p. 17.

> the life is necessarily rough, though everything is as new as in three-year old agricultural settlements it must needs be, there is nothing which need prevent an English or Australian gentleman from sending out his son with confidence to earn his living. [323]

At once unforgiving, harsh and dangerous to those who had forged Britain's path, the colonies were also plentiful to those willing to give the time, effort, and money. Industrialisation and the changing landscape were portents of a dying culture being transplanted on the same land. In Australia, Shaw equated the 'lifeless trees and sylvan graveyards' with 'the death and burial of primeval Australia' as they are swept away by modernisation, 'he [Aboriginals as an abstract] is dying, too, with the virgin woods.'[324] Landscape can also act as a simple representative metaphor for the true state of the country. In 1902, when attempting to argue for the continuing vitality and prosperity of South Africa despite the war, she opens the first of three articles with, 'The peaches are ripe in the fruit districts of Cape Colony, the grapes are turning colour'.[325] The ripening fruit stands in for a country once again coming to commercial strength and appeal to settlers. Each of Shaw's 'Letter' series begins with a description of the physical landscape of the colony. These are calculated to evoke awe at the beauty and grandeur of the Dominions. In South Africa, 'up the Karoo' is described as 'magical' with 'peak after peak' 'in every variety of shape and colour' on every side of the railway.[326] In Canada, the description blends grandeur with material prosperity as the landscape gives the impression of 'a land of clover and roses, of odorous woods and ripening crops, the continuity of which is only interrupted by noble waterways and by mountain ranges of magnificent proportions.'[327] Even in Australia where Shaw is initially unimpressed by the 'monotony' of the landscape, as time progresses, 'the whole would be indescribably commonplace, but that the vastness becomes at last by its own force impressive.'[328] This was what Mary Pratt has termed the 'aestheticisation' of the colonies, presenting their grandeur dramatic and picturesque scenes, notably devoid of any of the life of its inhabitants, for white readers.[329]

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[323] 'The Australian Outlook', *Royal Colonial Institute Report of Proceedings Vol. XXV* 1893-4, p. 150.
[324] 'Letters From Australia.' *The Times*, 27 Dec. 1892, p. 10. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZaR0. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[325] 'The Dutch Of Cape Colony.' *The Times*, 11 Feb. 1902, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4PCmb2. Accessed 17 Feb. 2017.
[326] 'Letters From South Africa.' *The Times*, 22 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKJF6. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
[327] 'Letters From Canada.' *The Times*, 27 Aug. 1898, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Ha7M1. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[328] 'Letters From Australia.' *The Times*, 27 Dec. 1892, p. 10. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZaR0. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[329] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 197

These descriptions of physical landscapes act as ciphers for Shaw's views of these colonies as lands of plenty for the settlers if they were willing to fight for it. The mysterious and grand landscapes were becoming less mysterious as civilisation advanced, but they offered great riches from areas like the 'apparently barren mountain flanks pregnant with gold' in the Klondike.[330] In the tropical empire, Shaw was concerned with convincing her readers that West Africa was not simply a 'land of swamps and forests'. Instead 'as the country slopes inland it rises in successive waves' and these 'waves' brought the kind of grand landscape that the empire demanded. Rising up through Nigeria, there are 'two great rivers', 'forest-crowned' hills and idyllic 'rare lilies and orchids also abound' in a landscape that 'has been held by the European travellers who have seen it to rank with the picturesque beauties of the world.' Shaw attempted to dispel the negative impression of the country in the same article, endowing it with identity and crucially, potential for civilisation as 'it is well watered, abounds in natural products, and offers evident facilities for cultivation.'[331] Imperial landscapes, whether settler or tropical, occupied in Shaw's philosophy a middle ground between threatening and inviting, the landscapes offered great rewards as well as perils and they had the forbidding grandeur to go with it.

Much of Shaw's writing was calculated to appeal to readers to invest time, money, or their lives in settling and developing the empire. Settlers, her main target audience, needed money to establish themselves and the colonies themselves needed investment for economic development, something which her readership was well-placed, with the capital of much of London to command, to provide. This was in service of an empire tied together by improved communication, a shared whiteness, and streams of money and people. Shaw, rather than look askance at politicians for a legislated empire, attempted, much like Cecil Rhodes, her idol, to create facts on the ground. Using the voice of *The Times*, and her own increasing influence she attempted to create and influence a Greater Britain.

Flora Shaw, the Promotion of Empire and attitudes to Race

Any consideration of the British Empire which proposed to consider the tropical and settler colonies together, as Shaw did from the later 1890s, had to present the question of race in a

[330] 'Letters From Canada.' *The Times*, 27 Aug. 1898, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Ha7M1. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[331] 'Nigeria.' *The Times*, 8 Jan. 1897, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4JQeF5. Accessed 1 Feb. 2017.

certain manner. Douglas Lorimer, Christine Bolt, Bill Schwarz and others have written on the exclusivity of the racial vision of the Empire.[332] The continuing structures of empire, in creating power relations which necessitated subjugation, as well as a considerable degree of separation between races, were hardening this colour line by the close of the nineteenth century.[333] Nevertheless, Shaw pursued an integrationist approach despite her belief in the privilege of whiteness. Speaking of Nigeria and West Africa, she argued that,

> We are an Empire of 413 millions of people, and that of those 413 only 52 millions are white. What we, who are the ruling factor, decide as to the methods by which the fate of the others shall be controlled is obviously among the important processes of imperial development.[334]

These racial hierarchies were thrown into greater prominence in the empire, as well as being a considerable part of domestic, white, British identity. The place, ascribed identity and purpose of indigenous peoples were all fiercely competed areas as some argued for utilising them economically or militarily, especially as the difficulties of working, for the health of whites, in a tropical climate were still considered a formidable impediment to settlement.[335] Others, and Shaw herself strongly opposed this, such as the Aborigines' Protection Society argued for the protection of indigenous ways of life, which often led to systems of reservations in Australia and South Africa.[336] Shaw's racial arrogance does not militate against this reading of the empire as exclusionary and hierarchical. Instead, her writing presents an argument for forcible integration through economic means, forcing indigenous peoples into the labour market regulated to improve their character. As a journalist who strongly privileged economic matters, Shaw argued for the necessity of cheap labour. The economic convenience, and the support of

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[332] Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) Douglas Lorimer, *Science, Race relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Bill Schwarz, *Memories of Empire, Volume I: The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

[333] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008), p. 2.

[334] The Duke of Marlborough, the undersecretary of State for the Colonies, chaired the speech. Flora Lugard, "Nigeria." *The Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. 52, no. 2678, 1st March 1904, p. 370. www.jstor.org/stable/41335768

[335] For the medical argument see Helen Woodcock, 'Our salubrious climate': attitudes to health in colonial Queensland' in *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, ed by Roy Mcleod and Milton Lewis (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 176-193; Warwick Anderson, *Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Carlton: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 73-94. Approaches to this were beginning to shift, but it wasn't until the 1930s that the debilitating climate was no longer considered to be an issue, see p. 75. For the military aspects of this, which were particularly prevalent in India although they applied in Africa as well, particularly in reference to the Zulus, see Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

[336] Lorimer, *Race Relations*, pp. 17-51

labour systems which could appear like slavery from a different viewpoint, was part of the integrated British Empire Shaw wanted, a united hierarchy of races.

This argument drew from her experience in Queensland with Polynesian labour on plantations and her visits to the South African mines of Cecil Rhodes. Shaw argued that this template could be used as an example for indigenous labour across the empire. In the camps in which African labour was forcibly kept during their time with the mine, every aspect of life could be regulated by Rhodes and the white company he headed. As she argued after describing the De Beers mine,

> The native is recognised as the motor power by means of which material development is carried out; the white man takes the position of director of this motor power, which is the only position he can hold with satisfaction to himself in this African climate.[337]

This was Shaw's conclusion after describing the mine at Kimberley which takes up most of her second letter from South Africa. In this the contrasting accommodations of Kenilworth and the '"compounds" or locations which are provided for the native labourers' demonstrate the paternalist necessity of providing 'decent homes and harmless pleasures' for white men and 'supervision' that it is necessary to place Africans under in order to 'check drunkenness and diamond-stealing'.[338]

If we first consider Shaw's depiction of the 'village of Kenilworth, where the white men live' the care of which was 'Mr Rhodes special personal hobby' then we can see that she presented the reader with an idyllic home. Kenilworth was introduced by contrasting it with the 'naturally treeless plain near a town of corrugated iron' has been 'well planted with eucalyptus trees and shrubs and vines' and the houses are of a 'pleasing architectural design'. The miners are provided with amenities which she enumerates such as a library, a billiards room and a dining hall. Shaw used a description of the preparations for dinner to cast a wider eye around and notes a young couple 'walking away under a long vine trellis known as the Lover's Walk'.[339] Shaw used the landscape and housing arrangement to present a

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[337] (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, p. 19.

[338] FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, pp. 13 & 15.

[339] FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017. Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, p. 13

sumptuous version of what miners could expect in South Africa, high wages and housing in a lovely village.

Shaw then described the African "compound". The difference was stark and was presented as not only a necessary part of the order of South Africa, but as a method to be commended in showing the future management of race relations in the colony.[340] Any African who agreed to work in this mine engaged 'to live in one of the company's compounds and to obey its regulations, and from the day he enters the compound he does not leave it again until he is discharged or has obtained a formal leave of absence.' Shaw does not shy from the penal associations which this evokes. Shaw's account did not mention, and presumably due to her gender she did not witness, the invasive physical examinations Africans had to undergo on emerging from the mines each day to ensure they were not hiding diamonds. This was mentioned by other English visitors to the mines, Edmund Garrett and Lord Randolph Churchill, and perhaps indicates that her visit was more closely guided than others.[341] She described how the miners were only allowed supervised contact with their wives and children and travel from the compound to the mine through a covered walkway. This was all designed, in Shaw's depiction, as a necessary, constructed environment to deter theft and to aid the African in his self-control. That it was voluntary and in no way comparable to plantations or forced slavery, Shaw was at pains to explain. She argued that this method was one possible solution to the difficulty of obtaining labour an obstacle which, when not 'slavery in disguise, has hitherto proved insuperable'.[342] Instead, Shaw painted this landscape not as a penal colony or one of forced labour, but as 'a monastery of labour'. The amenities included a 'swimming pool and a hospital' where in the accident ward 'a number of natives were amusing themselves with part-singing and looked extremely cheerful.' The only place in which the 'note of buoyant spirits appeared to flag' was in the fever ward.[343] Shaw admitted that the compound for African workers at Kimberley was 'too evidently superficial to be suitable for universal application.'

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[340] FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, p. 19.

[341] Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway, 'Constructing South Africa in the British Press, 1890-1892: *The Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Daily Graphic*, and *The Times*' in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* ed by Julie F. Codell (Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 2003), p. 138.

[342] FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa.*." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, p. 20.

[343] FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa.*." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, p. 18.

But she argued that 'its value as an example can hardly be overrated.'[344] Shaw used the landscape as a method of explaining the differing status of the white managers of the mine and the black workers. They are different in levels of responsibility and so can be treated differently by placing them in separate environments, each suited to their specific needs.

Shaw's persistent advocacy of imperial rule and expansion, and her attempted broadening of 'Greater Britain' to include the tropical Empire, led her to write widely about race in the British Empire. After Shaw retired as a journalist and married Frederick Lugard in June 1902, her gaze, long shifting in focus, became more fully held by the tropical Empire. Shaw was steadily becoming convinced that for the Empire, 'our next colonial chapter will be a tropical chapter' and she regarded West Africa as succeeding in importance to South Africa in the preceding decade.[345] This viewpoint had developed since her interview with George Goldie in the mid-1890s and her subsequent articles on West Africa.[346] Shaw became increasingly interested in, and a passionate advocate for, the development of West Africa and defensive of the actions of Frederick Lugard which were being increasingly criticised for militarism in Britain.[347] In collaboration with her husband, Shaw, or Lady Lugard as she became, was engaged in extensive lobbying and writing about Frederick Lugard's actions in Nigeria which have been condemned by historians as militaristic, brutal and engaged in the massacre of unarmed men, women and children.[348] The publication of *A Tropical Dependency* in 1905 presented Frederick Lugard's pacification and administration of Nigeria as peaceful; a Nigeria where in 'the markets of Sokoto and Kano the scene is as varied and dignified as in any market of the Mediterranean coast.'[349] This was a view she attempted to press on a concerned Colonial Office, sending a copy of the book to the Under-Secretary of State, Winston Churchill arguing that, 'I think you may perhaps see from this narrative how every forward step has been forced upon

[344] FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From South Africa.*." Times, 28 July 1892, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKPx0. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
Shaw, *Letters from South Africa*, II, p. 19.
[345] Lugard, 'Nigeria', p. 370. Also see her review of E. D. Morel's 'West Africa' Lugard (Lady) (Miss Flora Shaw) (AKA). "West Africa." *The Times Literary Supplement*, 19 Dec. 1902, p. 378+. *The Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive*
[346] There were a number of Shaw's articles in *The Times* about West Africa, the Royal Niger Company and Nigeria, the name which she coined, in 1897 on 8th January, 16th March, 30th March, 17th April, 19th April, 18th October and 25th October.
[347] Lugard (Lady) (Miss Flora Shaw) (AKA). "West Africa." *The Times Literary Supplement*, 19 Dec. 1902, p. 378+.
[348] I. F. Nicolson, *The Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960: Men, Methods, and Myths* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 124-5.
[349] Lady Flora Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency: An Outline of the Ancient History of the Western Soudan with an Account of the Modern Settlement of Northern Nigeria* (London, James Nisbet & Co. Ltd, 1905), p. 23.

us.'[350] This represented a sanitised representation of Lugard's work in Nigeria continued with his own publication in 1922, of *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*. These exercises in historical polishing were undertaken due to Frederick's limited authority to undertake his invasions of Sokoto and Kano, a perception that was gaining wider currency in Britain. As Wilfred Scawen Blunt, the aristocratic poet and anti-imperialist, recorded in his diary, 'nothing with less excuse has been perpetrated in the history of British aggression', the annexation was simply to 'gratify Lugard's ambition.'[351] For Shaw, the actions of the British were simple, 'a territory we found in chaos has been brought to order' and this was done with 'no great shock and no convulsion'.[352] She argued that before the arrival of the British, Fulani rule meant that, 'the practice of slave-raiding, carried on alike by the highest and lowest, ran like the poison of a destructive sore, destroying every possibility of peaceful and prosperous development.'[353] In Nigeria, Shaw argued, the British had simply established civilisation where it was needed.

The empire not only demanded people of good character, the white officers which Shaw idealised, it also shaped them to be a better imperial race by placing them in their natural leadership role in the expanses of empire. This character, as she put it in a speech to the Society for Arts in 1904 was made up of 'men loving adventure, devoted to their work, accustomed to the hard exercise of sport and war' these enthusiasms had 'the inexpressible advantage of having been bred in the fair and kind habits of our public schools and homes.'[354] Shaw encapsulated this ideal of the virtuous and characterful British man in the empire relating a story, in a letter to her husband, from dinner with 'Mr Grogan' in 1905. This encapsulated the ideal white man and the trusting, child-like honesty expected of Africans. Lugard's 'character had saved his life' when the explorer was travelling from Cape to Cairo. Ewart Grogan, presumably very aware of his audience, had apparently used Lugard's name in order to secure assistance from Africans in order to save him from starvation whilst travelling which caused him to be 'immediately hailed as a friend'. Grogan then added that he had 'tried the same game' with the explorer Henry Morton Stanley's name and was 'very nearly murdered for my pains.' Shaw, now Flora Lugard for three years, drew the flattering moral from this that Grogan spoke,

[350] The Churchill Papers, Churchill College Cambridge, Char 10/11/22, Flora Lugard - Winston Churchill, 8th May 1906.
[351] Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888 – 1914, V. II.* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1921), p. 47. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31158011668638;view=1up;seq=69 Accessed 19/04/17
[352] Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency*, p. 500.
[353] Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency*, p. 407.
[354] Lugard, 'Nigeria', p. 372.

> as all Africans [white Europeans in Africa] of real experience do, of the extraordinary knowledge which the natives have of the character of white men, and of how important it is to send among [them] only men of good character.[73]

Good character, viewed in a paternalist mode, was crucial to the imperialist mission. This excerpt takes it for granted that character was not only a British mode of evaluating a person, it was an intrinsic part of how Africans viewed the British. They have 'extraordinary knowledge' of character and presumably shared this widely as it was of such significance that Grogan, vaguely in 'remote Africa' during this tale, could rely on the name of Lugard to conjure help.

This notion of character was crucial to how Shaw represented the economic development of empire. The character-shaping effect of British rule was held to be a salutary example of modernisation and progress, justified by the barbarity of the land's current occupants. Writing about West Africa this is elaborated through an invocation of the British duty of anti-slavery and she refers to 'the horrors' of 'every defenceless village' before 'marauding slave-hunters'.[355] The civilising mission saved the inhabitants and then raised them up. Just as the British had been inspired to adapt to new technologies, so the peoples of West Africa had to move away from agriculture and adopt the rhythms of modern life. Economic pressures through the framework of 'good governance' and her husband's vaunted 'indirect rule' would work to make populations civilise themselves.[356] It was assumed that this transition had to happen in all the lands over which Britain ruled as the responsibility of colonial governance. Writing to her husband, Frederick Lugard, in Nigeria in 1904 Shaw praised his work saying that, 'for the first time <u>good</u> governance has come to it from outside. It has always been preyed upon. For the first time it is to be developed.'[357] This development was enabled by the good governance of the British and with it would come an improvement in African character.

The principal action which Shaw consistently recommended was to bring disparate peoples to civilisation through economic integration into the workforce, albeit with an implicit, and sometimes explicit, colour bar to rising within those professions. 'Regularity in labour' which Shaw widely advocated in all the colonies she visited, was 'one of the first lessons in civilisation.'[358] This was the key to raising the indigenous South Africans and Aborigines in

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[355] Lugard, 'Nigeria', p. 377.
[356] Jane Samson, *Race and Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 108-109.
[357] Original underlining. MSS Lugard 4/1/9, Flora Shaw to Frederick Lugard, 24th April 1904.
[358] 'Johannesburg To-Day.' *The Times*, 27 Feb. 1902, p. 8. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4MnZr4. Accessed 13 Feb. 2017.

Australia to civilisation. Integration into the labour force would bring prosperity, ease racial tensions and solidify the ties of the British Empire. In Australia, people from Polynesian islands were being imported on 'Blackbirder' ships and kept in conditions on plantations in Queensland which had provoked controversy in Britain. The struggle over a 'White Australia' policy meant that many were then deported back to the Polynesian islands after federation. This had been an issue of dispute since the 1860s, had been discontinued, but shortly prior to Shaw's visit, the practice was revived as the lack of labour in Northern Australia, rationalised in medical terms of climate, was making sugar production difficult.[359] Although Shaw claimed that she was 'allowed everywhere' and had 'perfectly fair talks with the Kanakas', her visit was swift and had been tightly planned in co-ordination with Australian officials. She was deceived by the plantation owners who showed *The Times* journalist what she wanted to see and Shaw, fervently believing in the mission of empire, reported back accordingly.[360] Giving the plantation owners cover for this, Shaw argued that the 'Kanaka' after regular employment, 'has adopted the household customs of civilisation'.[361] Similarly, in Canada, the indigenous inhabitants, especially due to their nomadic way of life were viewed as even further from civilisation. But thanks to the use of Hudson Bay trading company outposts 'tending to become a centre of Indian settlement', 'civilisation has reached him [the Indian]' and 'the life of the savage will come to an end.'[362] Settling in one location was a prerequisite to regular labour and was therefore another step on the road to civilisation. But inevitably, Shaw wrote most extensively about the 'native question' in the colony with the greatest competition between whites and the indigenous population, South Africa. Here she observed that, 'the question of material development and the question of race are the two interests round which everything else revolved.'[363]

In Basutoland in South Africa, Shaw noted approvingly that the Basotho were being brought into work and 'by inducing the common people to adopt civilised customs they are giving them

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[359] Anderson, *Cultivation of Whiteness*, pp. 88-9.
[360] (FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.). "Letters From Australia." *The Times*, 27 Dec. 1892, p. 10. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4HZaR0 Accessed 30 Jan. 2017. For the organisation of her trip, see Bell, *Flora Shaw*, pp. 101 & 121.
[361] 'Letters From Australia' *The Times*, 27th Dec 1892, p. 10. The controversy was encapsulated in a letter to *The Times* around the time of Shaw's visit, ERSKINE, JAMES E., and DALZIEL'S CABLE NEWS AGENCY, Limited. "The Polynesian Labour Traffic." Times, 21 May 1892, p. 19. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/6SYmB5. Accessed 1 May 2018. Questions were also raised in the House of Commons, see Hansard, HC Deb 17 May 1892 vol 4 cc1121-4; HC Deb 02 March 1893 vol 9 cc797-8
[362] 'Letters From Canada', *The Times* 27 Dec. 1898, p. 10. The Times
Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Ha7x3. Accessed 30 Jan. 2017.
[363] 'Letters From South Africa', *The Times*. 20 Sept. 1892, p. 6. The Times
Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKVq1. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.

civilised wants and laying the foundation of all civilised endeavour' an example she hoped would soon 'be the case with all native territories'.[364] The *Letters from South Africa* presented an attack on existing methods of approaching the indigenous peoples in South Africa through separate reserves and missionary efforts where, she contended, 'the principle of individual responsibility, upon which the framework of civilised society rests, is non-existent.' Shaw saw that the 'well-intentioned' missionary efforts had 'saved South Africa from the existence of a class whose material wants are unprovided for, but it has done so at the cost of permanent degradation of the native race.' In contrast, Shaw advocated the greater exploitation of African labour. Shaw argued that, 'if it were possible by education to instil a taste for luxuries into a people already possessed of the necessaries of life, the work of refining and developing the race would only be a question of time.'[365] Therefore, black South Africans could make the simple trade-off for leisure time rather than greater purchasing power, putting a price on their labour higher than companies were willing to pay. Therefore, in a move that she thought would solve at once the question of a lack of labour and of racial tension by integrating the workforce, Shaw argued that the non-white population of the empire would never be raised from the infantilising position into which they had been placed when 'the first inward spur to action which rests upon the hard groundwork of necessity is absent.'[366] Shaw did not necessarily see this 'hard groundwork of necessity' leading to simple dependence upon waged labour to British companies, although she knew that this would often be the result. But with a striking similarity to the arguments made for allotting independent farms to white settlers in Australia and Canada, Shaw argued that they should 'proceed by some gradual system of survey and allotment into individual freehold.'[367] The evil that Shaw saw in South Africa was the artificial nature of African life. Removing the safety net that was stripping the black population of South Africa of an incentive to work, without which she allows 'there is not one of us who is not essentially lazy', would allow them to be 'more easily absorbed in the natural channels of labour and civilisation.' The British had 'taken his occupation from the native and he has not yet found another.' Africans needed reforming into model workers and British settlers needed

[364] 'Letters From South Africa.' *The Times*, 2 Sept. 1892, p. 10. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKUs5. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
[365] 'Letters From South Africa', *The Times*. 20 Sept. 1892, p. 6.
[366] 'Letters From South Africa', *The Times*. 20 Sept. 1892, p. 6.
[367] 'Letters From South Africa', *The Times*. 20 Sept. 1892, p. 6.

independent labour, labour which had learned 'to exact it from himself [and so] is no longer a barbarian' to work on their farms, mines, and factories.[368]

It was a necessary provision of this vision of empire that the government provided by the white powers, and especially the British, could, and in time inevitably would, elevate the character and prospects of the ruled. If any inhabitant of the empire could not be tied into the onward march of progress through mining, farming or other industries then he could, if loyalty permitted, be employed directly by the state in the growing ranks of the army. This was an integral part of Shaw's vision of the British Empire as one of liberty. 'An almost certain corollary' of the British rule was that 'sooner or later, we place these qualities, trained and disciplined on our side' as she wrote of imperial soldiers at the Diamond Jubilee recruited from Africa and India; recruitment which could never happen without the willing participation of the ruled in the British Empire.[369] But, this progress and enlistment was not the same for all peoples of the empire. Shaw never viewed the non-white population of the empire *en-masse,* although her views of their place within the imperial schema was strictly limited. Some privileged few, those with more imposing pre-existing civilisations were more susceptible to British civilisation than others. They, such as the Hausa in Nigeria, were harder working as they had greater pre-existing civilisation and were less prone to nomadic ways of life which she characterised as savagery. This argument comes through with particularly patriotic bombast in Shaw's reports on Nigeria. These introduced the endeavours of George Goldie to the British public and coined the name by which the country is still known today. The Hausa, a people from West Africa were 'of a far higher type than the ordinary negro' because they were, 'naturally active, persistent and industrious'.[370] The Hausa, along with the Fulani received high praise from Shaw, but this was in stark contrast to her view of most African peoples. Shaw singles out the Hausa and Fulani from West Africa and the Zulus and Basutos from South Africa for industriousness and willingness to participate in the colonial economy. But this singular praise served as a contrast because she viewed most Africans as 'largely barbarian' indicted for laziness where 'the work of the tribe, such as it is, is done by women.'[371]

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[368] 'Letters From South Africa', *The Times*. 20 Sept. 1892, p. 6; 'Johannesburg To-Day.' *The Times,* 27th Feb. 1902, p. 8.

[369] 'The Colonies.' *The Times,* 8th June 1897, p. 9. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4KjrVX. Accessed 6 Feb. 2017.

[370] "The Royal Niger Company." Times, 17 Apr. 1897, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/ tinyurl/4JQfp4. Accessed 1 Feb. 2017; "The Royal Niger Company." Times, 19 Apr. 1897, p. 5. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/ tinyurl/4JQhG2. Accessed 1 Feb. 2017.

[371] 'Johannesburg To-Day.' *The Times*, 27 Feb. 1902, p. 8

Selected indigenous peoples received a glowing description from Shaw, and she often endeavoured to single out positives, nevertheless many suffered the castigation of her pen.

The indigenous inhabitants of Canada received particularly scathing treatment in her final letter from Canada in 1898. Shaw painted a picture of the First Nation tribes as people who, 'in their native state have knowledge of no other means of procuring sustenance but hunting' and 'in extremity of hunger they will even become cannibal.' These peoples will 'abandon those who could not travel' or even, at 'the request of the infirm person' strangle them.[372] But Shaw saw a civilising influence of white settlement as 'the Hudson's Bay Company has gradually extinguished this custom.' Similarly, the help that the company gives to the Indians had resulted in the 'modification of the purely nomadic and tribal character of the people has developed.'[373] Shaw saw the forcible but gradual transfiguration of their cultural ways of life as the integral part of the civilising mission. It was in many ways an extension of the early nineteenth century argument for the abolition of slavery. Is 'it enough that natives in the less civilised portions of the tropics should have been relieved of the necessity of labouring for others? Is it not desirable that they should take the further step of learning to labour for themselves?' [374] Independent labour was the last stage in the emancipation of the less-developed peoples from the injustices of slavery and rule over them to achieve this was justified in the same way as the abolition of slavery was.

Shaw presented a hard-line conviction that for almost all indigenous peoples, without the Empire, they could not become civilised. Although she allows some degree of pre-existing civilisation to the Fulani in West Africa, perhaps due to their strong resistance to the British, their monotheism and pre-existing level of state development, Shaw was dismissive of existing African customs. Her caustic description of South African Pondoland as a 'wedge of savagery' for which 'annexation can be merely a question of time', leaves little room for doubt about her views of pre-existing civilisations.[375] In settler colonies, the existing culture of indigenous peoples and Australian Aborigines in particular, was often simply denied. Writing in her children's book *The Story of Australia*, Shaw contended that 'the natives of Australia have counted for nothing in the development of that continent.'[376] They appeared simply as 'the

[372] 'Letters From Canada', *The Times* 27 Dec. 1898, p. 10.
[373] 'Letters From Canada', *The Times* 27 Dec. 1898, p. 10.
[374] Flora Lugard, 'The tropics of the empire', p. 821.
[375] 'Letters From South Africa.' *The Times*, 3 Oct. 1892, p. 3. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4GKXK6. Accessed 25 Jan. 2017.
[376] Flora Shaw, *The Story of Australia* (London: Horace Marshall, 1897), pp. 80-1.

savage races which haunted her western forests' who had 'no message of life' for the earth. However, effective resistance, at least for a time, compelled imperial recognition and Shaw allowed the Maoris of New Zealand, 'a most important element of local history'.[377] Shaw's focus was far from the anthropological accounts of Mary Kingsley and others.[378] Her interest was on the civilising effects of the economic modernisation that was being brought to the settler colonies and how this would incorporate black South Africans. Indigenous peoples elsewhere, either in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, came into her stories of empire simply as doomed figures of resistance, dying cultures in the face of progressive white Great Britain. In certain cases, indigenous peoples might figure as sources of labour that could contribute to the modernisation of the colonies. More often Aborigines, First Nation peoples and the Maoris were denigrated, taken as disappearing or simply ignored. Civilisations before the arrival of the British, conceived as intrinsically sickly and dying, were simply of little interest.

The primary role of indigenous peoples within the empire in Shaw's accounts in the 1890s and 1900s was as uncivilised actors ready to be incorporated into the modern labour force and, thereby, the modern world. This was amply demonstrated by her accounts of the Polynesian peoples, 'Kanakas', in Australia or the tribal people in South Africa. Even outside of the settler colonies, Shaw changed her tone little. The potential of areas such as West Africa was undoubtedly, as Shaw wrote, 'a rich and extensive market of British trade'.[379] But there was not, in her rendering of the question, a British economic role and a different humanitarian and civilising role. They were deeply intertwined, and one was the means of achieving the other. This was simply the progress of history and the ordained role of the British Empire. Shaw's missionary zeal for the British Empire and its effects allowed little sympathy, as perhaps few evangelisers do, for those who refused to embrace the benefits of civilisation. Shaw, in a letter to her husband praised him for the 'satisfactory smashing of the Mahdi's forces' and making a great example of 'the power of the white man'.[380] Resistance was often seen as simply an irritant by Shaw, as losing could scarcely be imagined, although this could be to disguise anxiety over her husband fighting wars on a different continent. She sympathised with Frederick in 1904 that 'I am sorry for you to be bothered with a punitive expedition when you

[377] Flora Shaw, 'The Australian Outlook', p. 146.
[378] Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2nd edition, 1992), pp. 29-34
[379] 'The Royal Niger Company.' *The Times*, 19 Apr. 1897, p. 5. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/
tinyurl/4JQhG2. Accessed 1 Feb. 2017.
[380] MSS Lugard 4/1/47, March 16th 1906; MSS Lugard 4/1/53 March 25th 1906.

have so much else to do.'[381] Progress had to come to the uncivilised portions of the earth, if not voluntarily then militarily.

This was the shaping power of economics as a tool of empire and Flora Lugard's support of it was not confined to bringing anyone, white or not, into her preconceived pale of civilisation. Economic integration and better communication across the empire were essential to its continued future because any 'scheme proposed now would be necessarily proposed on insufficient knowledge of mutual requirements'. Therefore, the unity of the Empire, and any future possibility of a federated Greater Britain, had to be based upon, as she put it in a letter to her sister Louise, making 'the colonies better known to each other'.[382] This mutual interest could be encouraged by journalists such as herself, but this would only truly be brought about by emigration throughout the empire and increased trade and investment between metropole and colony. This is why many of her articles were so detailed on economic questions and emigration; Shaw knew that these articles were one of the most easily accessible and well trusted sources of information on conditions in the colonies. For many, the articles in *The Times* acted as a prospectus for settling in the colonies. She also saw the communications between the settler colonies themselves, and not solely back to Britain, as essential, arguing for the Pacific cable between Canada and Australia.[383] This emphasis on links across the empire is undoubtedly why Shaw chose to mention this inter-Dominion link, 'the Pacific cable joining Canada and Australia' in a letter to her husband as, in retrospect, one of the particular achievements of which she was proud.[384]

Despite this faith in the power of economics, the improvement of the races of the British Empire was not always simply educational. Although the racial aspect of Shaw's imperialism was not a marked feature of it, it does figure in some of her writings about Canadian First Nation peoples, where she could observe the results of some inter-breeding. In her final letter from Canada in December 1898, in the remote Mackenzie district, Shaw records the opinions of 'those who know the Indian best' that the moral improvements of the First Nations were 'based upon the infusion of white blood.' The 'half-breed' was seen as the 'pivot' upon which, for biological as well as moral reasons, the continuance of the First Nations could be preserved. 'The crossing of the blood with that of a higher race' has 'operated a gradual change in the

[381] MSS Lugard 4/1/6, January 1st 1904
[382] MSS. Brit Emp. S. 590 1/1/117. Flora Shaw- Louise Shaw. May 21st, 1893
[383] 'The Colonies.' *The Times*, 19 June 1899, p. 9. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4Kk3M5.Accessed 6 Feb. 2017.
[384] MSS Lugard. 4/1/11. Flora Lugard- Frederick Lugard. Nov 13th 1904.

Indian nature' and is slowly merging them 'in a more civilised people. This mixture of blood was essential because civilisation 'makes its mark on the pure Indian' and particularly in First Nation women who 'however beautiful, [have] the eyes of a wild animal'. This was a racial view based on blood where, 'it is only in those touched with white blood that the eyes have a fully human expression'.[385] In her characterisation of the First Nation peoples of Canada we can see an aberration from Shaw's philosophy about the ability of every racial group to raise themselves up through education and civilised labour. Here, there emerges a harder, racialised view, albeit one she perhaps took from local 'experts'. This view would, on the basis of blood, enforce a hierarchy in which some races were simply and essentially higher than others.

Given this racial aspect in her conception of the international hierarchy, Shaw's views of indigenous peoples, and of the Boers could be surprisingly close. Flora Shaw was similar to many imperialist women in this. Violet Markham considered the Boers to be simply 'White Kaffirs' who should be treated as such, saying a lot about her contempt for non-white peoples of the empire. Violet Milner was largely interested in the Dutch in South Africa as she was in indigenous peoples, as in need of the evangelising presence of the British.[386] Neither was fully civilised and both had a tendency to indolence and barbarous ignorance, which marked them apart from the truly civilised European powers. It can nevertheless be difficult to tease out Shaw's true opinions on the Boers, although they hardened during the South African War. Shaw was often writing swiftly to tight deadlines, perhaps explaining her inconsistency. Some articles romanticise the Dutch, albeit in a patronising manner as a hardy, pastoral people uninterested in trade and industry, but others denigrate them and emphasise how manifestly unfit they were for self-government.[387] However this variety of depiction is considered, the majority of articles painted the Boers as ignorant, lazy, and superstitious. This patronising picture of the Boer linked with Shaw's argument that the Hollander was the tyrannous interloper in South Africa and the cause of the Uitlander against the Hollander was supported by many Boers.[388] This helped to paint the British as supporting the underdog in an altercation in which they were often seen as a mighty Empire petulantly crushing an innocent pastoral people for material gain. Shaw evidently considered the Boers incapable of self-government

[385] 'Canada' 27th Dec 1898, *The Times*, p. 10
[386] Eliza Riedi, 'Options for an Imperialist woman: The Case of Violet Markham, 1899-1914', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 32:1, (Spring, 2000), p. 63; 'Imperialist Women and Conservative Activism in Early Twentieth Century Britain: The Political World of Violet Milner', *Women's History Review*, 22:6 (2013), p. 935.
[387] 'Letters From South Africa.' *The Times*, 22nd July 1892, p. 4
[388] 'The Transvaal Uitlander.' *The Times*, 2nd Jan. 1896, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl. galegroup.com/tinyurl/4RPFq8. Accessed 24 Feb. 2017.

and of justly dealing with the Uitlander population. Although they may have been above the 'natives' in the scale of civilisation, the Boers were evidently not admitted within the pale of proper society. This is nationalism as civilisation or, as Hobsbawm put it, 'the only historically justifiable nationalism was that which fitted in with progress.'[389] The Boers were the past, the British the future and it is for this reason that Shaw supported Rhodes' plan for an insurrection in the Transvaal and its incorporation into South Africa. Imperialism, wedded to progress, had its own logic of expansion. In her support for Rhodes' attempt to incorporate the Transvaal into a federated South Africa, Shaw was unabashed in her criticism of the Transvaal claiming that 'a parallel case of misgovernment does not exist in the modern world.' Although evidently swayed to a certain degree by the 'almost "daemonic" influence of his great personality' the incorporation of the Transvaal into the British Empire was undoubtedly a goal which she supported. Shaw campaigned against the Transvaal both in *The Times* in a series of articles about the plight of the Uitlanders and in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* which she signed herself 'Imperialist' as publishing articles outside of the newspaper was in breach of her contract with *The Times*.[390]

Conclusion

The Empire, and her role in promoting it, formed a key part of Flora Shaw's self-identity. Her cause of the empire and its promotion did not cease after her resignation from *The Times,* it simply continued in another form. Belief in empire formed an integral part of Flora Shaw's patriotism. The imperial civilising mission could not be separated from the conception of Britain as a country. Greater Britain was a natural and obvious extension of the country across the sea, and her voice was a prominent one, especially in the 1890s, within the debate surrounding the nature of this. Her political influence on imperial and colonial issues was considerable. Nevertheless, most contemporary judgments on Flora Shaw's life were concerned with the effect her gender had on her life. *The Times* obituary was at pains to assure readers that she was 'a thoroughly womanly woman' and not of the 'masculine type'. Encapsulating this, the *Montreal Herald's,* article on her trip to the Klondike in 1898, reprinted in the *New York Times,* described her travels and work, but added that she was 'an English

[389] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 41.
[390] MSS. Brit Emp. S. 590. 9/2/84. *Fortnightly Review*, 'The Plain truth about Mr Rhodes and the Transvaal' CCCLIV, June 1st 1896. p. 841; 'The Transvaal Uitlander', *The Times*, 1st, 2nd & 4th Jan 1896; Bell, *Flora Shaw*, p. 169.

Lady, quick in all the sympathies of her sex'.[391] Shaw's career was remarkable and in a late Victorian milieu this had to be explained in a gendered way, comforting readers that she was not too far outside the normal run of contemporary women. Nevertheless, the life and career of Lady Lugard is a difficult one to encapsulate, she embodied certain aspects of her time and transgressed others with little apparent concern. Independent, intelligent and globe-trotting in a New Woman mould, she was nevertheless also happily married and accepted a supporting role in that marriage across the empire, as she advocated for other women. Her gender, which she often subsumed into her professional role remains significant largely for the political and opinion-forming influence she wielded in masculine and misogynist circles, despite it. Her gender was, in the end, subordinated to her political and imperial mission. Her belief in the empire was also, she considered, successful. As she wrote to Charles Moberly Bell after her resignation, the 'centre of British politics has shifted in a way which will enable you to get the services of any number of able men now for work in subjects which only ten years ago you and I were almost alone of the staff in caring for.'[392] Imperialism, the central component in her politics and life, shaping her career and marriage as well as her views on Britain's place in the world, was Shaw felt, secure in the 1900s.

This chapter has elucidated the connections between *The Times* and elite imperial policy making in government. Flora Shaw had intimate connections with the Colonial Office, and she used this access to bolster a vision of the empire which embodied and a belief in Greater Britain tied together by blood, culture, and economics. Shaw was persuading a financial and political elite to invest in empire, monetarily and through the careers of their children. She also stood staunchly behind the expansion of empire in Africa through any means. Flora Shaw tested the limits of gender politics through the masculine world of imperial politics and news. Through this she exemplifies the nexus of discussion within politics and the press, and its pursuance of imperial goals which she, and other imperial enthusiasts, believed to be neglected.

[391] 'Lady Lugard.' *The Times*, 28 Jan. 1929, p. 17. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4YAcEX. Accessed 17 Mar. 2017. 'Miss Flora Shaw', *The New York Times*, 31st Oct 1898.
[392] News UK archive, CMB/1. 14th August 1899.

FLORA ANNIE STEEL, ROMANCE, AND BRITISH HISTORIES OF INDIA

In her account of modern India, written in 1905, Flora Annie Steel attempted to encapsulate the country she had lived in for over twenty years. She drew a dividing line between those who would understand the true nature of India and those who could not. This dividing line was epitomised for her by a visitor's reaction to the seaweed, 'half seen, twining, intertwining' that surrounded the subcontinent. She argued that those who saw just 'a curious natural phenomenon' instead of a 'zone of sea-serpents, the zone of sea-guardians between the outside world and enchanted India' should 'turn back on the spot; for they will never see India.'[393] The seaweed presented a gateway to another land, other-worldly and mysterious where the practicalities of science would founder in understanding its nature. To a woman who came out to India at the age of twenty it was this air of romance that first stirred her love of India.

In presenting the grandeur of the Raj, Steel prized an older, timeless India, which westernisation was destroying. Fully supportive of British rule, she argued that a greater knowledge of India would help in the colonial project, as greater understanding would help prevent, or at least manage, conflict. Steel advocated taking from the philosophy of India where, especially in gender relations, she felt it had something to teach the West. Despite this awareness of an Indian viewpoint, the imperial consciousness was a vital aspect of Steel's worldview. The primary reason for understanding Indian culture, although to many it was a genuine fascination, was imperially minded. Understanding India, for the British, was necessarily linked to ruling, not unselfish curiosity and respect. The romance of India was something she thought should be separated from British rule; ruling over India did not mean changing it as westernisation invariably led to tragedy. Later in life she presented westernisation in India as not only destroying a culture but with a harsher edge. As sections of the Indian population became violently opposed to British rule and allied in Steel's mind, and the minds of many of the British in India, to Bolshevism, her tone hardened. Nevertheless, Flora Annie Steel occupies her own dividing line between romantic and hard-hearted observer. Married to a member of the Indian Civil Service she nevertheless occupied the role in her own way as the 'unusual memsahib'.[394]

[393] Mortimer Menpes and Flora Annie Steel, *India* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1905), p. 3

[394] Indrani Sen, *Gendered Transactions: The White Woman in Colonial India, c. 1820-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 53. Margaret Macmillan, *Women of the Raj* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), p. 205. Steel is one of Macmillan's 'Unconventional women'

This chapter will explore, using unpublished and neglected published sources such as her histories and journalism, Steel's contribution to the romantic conception of Indian history in imperial writing that was attempting to bring colonial exploits to the attention of the British public. Imperialists, as well as considerable sections of Victorian society, were, as Duncan Bell has put it, 'obsessed with decoding historical experience'.[395] Steel's non-fiction work has largely been obscured by her fiction, but it was intended to serve a more direct purpose. Her journalism and popular histories could draw on the expertise she had gathered in India and engage with serious government policy and the conception of India directly. This non-fiction was largely concerned with Indian history and linked to Indian character as the principal determinant marking the identity the British chose for them. The question this chapter then asks of these works is how Steel's conception of India was tied up with her romantic and medieval conception of its history. India had ancient wisdom, philosophy and art and its characters could be larger than life, charismatic and brave, or filled with cunning. But Indian society had not progressed further. This was her justification for the absolute rule of the British in India. Steel's writings on India were part of a popularisation of ideas about colonial rule, the British national mission and racial character which appeared in the 1900s. Her fiction was still very much concerned with character and this chapter draws on some of this in support of points raised in her non-fiction work.

The extent of her fascination and engagement with India, as well as her acknowledged expertise, places Steel in an unusual position in relation to most of her contemporaries, and particularly the memsahibs, in British India. Firmly imbricated within colonialism and enthusiastically supportive of the idealised British project in India, she was nevertheless often critical of British practice and interference in Indian life. Steel's many novels are notable for the attempt to fully realise Indian characters and their agency.[396] In her depictions of Indian life, Steel stands apart from other 'memsahib writers' in India such as Alice Perrin, Mary Croker or Sara Jeanette Duncan who were more concerned with the delineation of life in the European stations. Even in comparison to Maud Diver, who also wrote about Indian life, Steel's range of characters

[395] Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. 119.

[396] For instance, Benita Parry and Inderpal Grewal emphasise Steel's imperialism, whereas LeeAnne M. Richardson and Indrani Sen emphasise the agency given to Indian characters to a greater degree. Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries: India in the British Imagination, 1880-1930* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 6. Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Culture of Travel* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 57. LeeAnne M. Richardson, *New Women and Colonial Adventure Fiction in Victorian Britain* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), p. 93. Indrani Sen, *Woman and Empire: Representations in the Writings of British India (1858-1900)* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2005), p. 147.

from peasant women to high-caste Brahmins and purdahnashin sets her apart as a British writer of Indian life.[397] Hsu-Ming Teo has argued that, 'The romantic Raj was generally an Indian-less India' and even in Steel's novels the prospect of inter-racial marriage or true Indian heroes was not broached, but many of her stories do attempt to faithfully depict Indian characters and life.[398] Romance as a genre was something which Steel used and spun as her historical novels painted an aestheticised and imagined India whose characters served archetypal purposes and the landscape idiomatically represented India. Romance, albeit bolstered and given factual credence by her personal experience, was her way of imagining India and it served a useful purpose in her communication of India to her publics. As Mary Procida has argued, the Anglo-Indian romance accompanied the increasing visibility of women like Steel communicating about empire in Britain. These romances were a way of making their communication of their conservative political and imperial opinions to the public more palatable.[399] Steel was consciously part of a specific region of Northwest India, the Punjab, and she acknowledges that many of her depictions would not apply to elsewhere in India, although she does often generalise and try to apply her writings across the country.[400] Historians and literary critics have approached Steel and come to polar opposite conclusions about the extent of her racism.[401] Nevertheless, in this research she has been approached almost solely as a novelist and often little past her novel of 1857, *On the Face of the Waters*.[402] This has obscured a significant portion of how she imagined India. Although there have been attempts to look outside her literary output, especially by Grainne Goodwin, her journalism and non-fiction writing on India has been neglected and it is these works that are mainly being interrogated here. These reveal a clearer picture of how Flora Annie Steel depicted India as a land historically attached to a

[397] Flora Annie Steel, *In the Permanent Way and Other Stories* (London: W. Heinemann, 1898) See particularly 'On the Second Storey' in this collection

[398] Hsu-Ming Teo, 'Romancing the Raj: Interracial Relations in Anglo-Indian Romance Novels' *History of Intellectual Culture*, 2004 · Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 4.

[399] Mary A. Procida, Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 5.

[400] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 242. Although she often displays her extensive knowledge of the different states of India, Steel has a tendency to reflect upon the 'Indian character' or 'the average Indian male' in the histories, journalism and account of modern India. Steel, India, pp. 180-1. "The Indo-British Association." Times, 9 Aug. 1918, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4dg2. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.

[401] See note 392 above. Debate has tended to go back and forth on Steel due to the range of much of her writings. See particularly Benita Parry and LeeAnne Richardson.

[402] Flora Annie Steel, *On the Face of the Waters: A Tale of the Mutiny* (London: W. Heinemann, 1896). The recent edited collection, Susmita Roye (ed.) *A Critical Study of an Unconventional Memsahib: Flora Annie Steel* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2017) is a case in point. Although this has informative and interesting essays on Steel's novels, short stories and cookbook, Grainne Goodwin, '"Yours truly, Flora Annie Steel" Gender, Empire and Indian Pressure Politics in *the Times's* Correspondence Columns, 1897-1910' is the only one which considers her journalism, and her other non-fiction writing, such as the histories, are not considered.

romantic form of rule. This was one where grandeur, and an autocracy designed to dazzlingly impress itself on the imagination of a people unfitted to self-rule, had to hold sway, despite Britain's own traditions of liberty and parliamentary government.

Punch wrote in 1917 that, 'there is probably no writer who can approach Mrs. Flora Annie Steel in the art of telling Indian tales about Indian people.'[403] Steel was a prominent novelist of India in Britain from the 1890s until her death. Despite unflattering and condescending comparisons to Rudyard Kipling in reviews from the *Academy* and *Saturday Review*, Steel was known as a translator of India for the British public.[404] Steel may have entered Kipling's supposed realm, but she did it persistently and to largely favourable reviews, demonstrating her knowledge in an accessible and expert manner. Steel also accepted and used this comparison, placing herself, alone, alongside the famous writer of India.[405] Many of her books went through multiple editions, and she protested her faithfulness and research on Indians, and Indian women in particular where she speaks, 'knowing more of the facts than perhaps any Englishwoman alive'.[406] Steel claimed expertise in a male field, in a very masculine society.

Historians and contemporaries have recognised how the language around British colonial practice, and that practice itself, was different for India than the other colonies.[407] India was a land held in time, where the British had to act differently. The British could act feudally because Steel, along with much of the Anglo-Indian elite, believed the society around them to be feudal, although Steel, and most of the British in India, coupled this with a firmly held racial belief.[408] This fits Steel into a Tory tradition, one from the early nineteenth century both in India and Britain, of viewing India as an old-fashioned space for heroic British action. As Jon Wilson has argued, India was perceived and presented as a 'field for noble British actions and an expression of the power of Britain in the world.'[409] David Cannadine has emphasised this feudal

[403] Mr. Punch's Staff of Learned Clerks [Arthur Eckersley, Joseph Thorp, and Charles Turley Smith]. "Our Booking-Office." *Punch*, 19 Dec. 1917, p. 421+. *Punch Historical Archive, 1841-1992*, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/ES700024497/GDCS?u=univbri&sid=GDCS&xid=15ad50d2. Accessed 30 July 2019.
[404] Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and the literary cultures of South-East Asia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 167-171
[405] "The Indo-British Association." Times, 9 Aug. 1918, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4dg2. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.
[406] Flora Annie Steel, 'The Women of India: And how we are making them miserable', *The Review of reviews*; Jul 1897; 16, British Periodicals pg. 53
[407] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 3-5; J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 180.
[408] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001), pp. 56-7.
[409] Jon Wilson, 'The Silence of Empire: Imperialism and India' in *The Languages of Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, ed. by David Craig and James Thompson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 224.

and medieval worldview of many of the British in India and particularly the higher classes. He argues that 'India exercised such an appeal for so long to the romantic, Disraelian side of the British imagination'.[410] This was a British imaginary that prized hierarchy and individual character above all. British governance was conceptualised and presented differently and more grandly in India than Britain. This was symbolised by Queen Victoria's assumption of the title of Empress of India in 1876, and the first imperial durbar in 1877, followed by those in 1903 and 1911.[411] Clive Dewey has separated the Anglo-Indian mentality of the ICS into the gospel of uplift and the cult of friendship, and although Steel makes nods towards the gospel of uplift and at times wanted to stretch out the hand of friendship these modes were not hers.[412] Steel's philosophy was concerned with adapting an Indian form of governance, placing the British in the tradition of autocratic, benevolent ruler-ship, in the wake of 1857, Steel could conceive of no other way. The trauma of this was a defining matter for Steel, albeit a reported one with a visible legacy, as for most of the British in India after this date.[413] Steel spent over twenty years in India, and after her return to Britain in 1889 she used this experience to put forward a viewpoint that combined this with a metropolitan vision of the purposes of the British in India.

Flora Annie Steel set down in her novels what her conception was of India and was deeply unwilling to alter anything for publishers. She told her literary agent William Morris Colles in a letter concerning *On the Face of the Waters*, 'I am not in the least quarrelsome, but my world has always to conform to my notion of honour, or cease to be my world.'[414] Her energy and combativeness were often remarked upon by contemporaries. Douglas Sladen, the writer and literary observer of social life in London, recounted a speech in his memoir which she gave at a 'Vagabond's' dinner in 1897 that was all the better because 'indignation stung her into springing to her feet'.[415] Her determination and obstinacy likewise drew admiration and exasperation in roughly equal measures. Maud Diver, the novelist of India who knew Steel from her time there admired her zeal in Indian stations 'where Europeans were scarce' and because of her personality 'was a total stranger' to boredom.[416] Steel had a practical, business-

[410] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, pp. 56-7.
[411] Miles Taylor, *Empress: Queen Victoria and India* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 167-175.
[412] Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London & Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1993), pp. 12-16.
[413] Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 43-50.
[414] Flora Annie Steel to William Morris Colles, 26th March, 1896. 297/60 Author's syndicate, Ltd collection, Harry Ransom Research Centre, The University of Texas at Austin.
[415] Douglas Sladen and Yoshio Markino, *Twenty years of my life: with four coloured illustrations and twelve portraits* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1913), p. 123. For this stinging reply, Richmond Local Studies Library, Douglas Sladen Papers. SLA 23/379
[416] Maud Diver, *The Englishwoman in India* (Edinburgh: W Blackwood, 1909), pp. 78-9.

like personality not given to theorising. In many ways her reflexive support for imperialism in India was indicative of this. She had gone out to India at the age of twenty with her husband more out of sense of new undiscovered horizons than belief in a mission and still less for love of her husband as she candidly notes in her autobiography.[417] Her support for imperialism was based on a number of cultural assumptions about racial hierarchy, which she, along with many of her contemporaries, perceived to be established facts. The primary established fact was the very presence of the British Empire in India, reiterating itself mentally when she arrived in 1868, just eleven years after 1857. This was the world which later gave her the prominent status of a burra-memsahib through her husband's rise in the ICS. She could admit that the British had established their Indian Empire through the East India Company on theft and murder as her history records.[418] But now that it was established, it was Britain's duty to maintain it. This inglorious history could be ignored, its rapacious violence disregarded. The empire was now a fact, navel gazing and theorising were irrelevant: its purpose was good government.

As a 'total stranger' to boredom, Steel was determined to use her time, often in remote areas of the Punjab, far from European contact, in getting to better 'know' India. It was this effort, pursued through her novels and histories, which was relied upon by Steel to act as her badge of authority in writing about India. This 'knowing' of India, came to be expressed in a particularly historical way, attempting to convey India's romance in history, and the imperial place of Britain within this. This romantic conception of Indian history, and 'timeless India', was Steel's main imaginative framework which she used to convey her imperial priorities in Britain.

'A return to the simpler, more despotic rule of forty years ago': Romance and Steel's Historical Argument for Indian rule[419]

To argue that Steel's Indian history and contemporary society was one steeped in romance is not to make a comparison with love stories or the fiction of 'Station Ladies.'[420] Steel's history envisaged India on a melodramatic scale, ruled by passions; it was lustful and violent, proud and grand, and, crucially, with a wide cast of Indian characters. There is medievalising,

[417] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 27.
[418] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp.307-309.
[419] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 210.
[420] Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p. 78 refers to these writers, such as Bithia Mary Croker, Alice Perrin, and Maud Driver amongst many others, as the Romancers.

especially in her discussions of the chivalry of the Rajputs, often seen as the most medieval of the peoples in India. As the member of the ICS and travel writer Walter Roper Lawrence claimed in the 1880s, India could be imagined as 'the Middle Ages in sepia'.[421] In this medievalising and chivalric romance, Steel's focus was on noble or wicked men and women, and not just amongst the Rajputs. Steel was attempting to capture what she considered to be a true picture of the authentically 'Indian' character through their history. This was a picture crucial to her staunch support of the imperial project in India. This characterisation of Indian culture and mores bears a similarity to Mary Louise Pratt's concept of aestheticisation. Applied to history and culture rather than descriptions of landscape, aestheticisation can remove the idea of the culture's own viewpoint or sense of serious achievement and made its history appear as a series of tales for the reader.[422] This was a conception that held at its core, despite the fascination with Indian history and culture, a belief that Indians were simply less developed than the British, an imperially configured and updated application of Rousseau's ideal of the noble savage. This aestheticisation and simplified presentation can be seen in the histories and especially the *Dramatic History of India*.[423] This work of 29 playlets presents episodes from Indian history as short dialogues and was written for the educational department in India, to whom she sold the copyright. It was often used to teach the history of India in both Britain and India, through colourful individuals and episodes. Steel remarked to her publisher, 'Several of the little playlets have been acted by the children and go well. […] Some of the work is really quite good.'[424] The histories are similar in this mode and aesthetic, albeit with purely Indian characters, to the adventure stories of Rider Haggard and G.A. Henty, often themselves termed 'Romance' by contemporaries, which painted an imperial space for heroic action.[425] They paint a colourful, tame version of Indian history, culminating in the coronation of George V in Delhi in 1911 as the 'the first time in the History of India an Emperor of all the Indias, not only of a part of it' sat on the imperial throne.[426] India was the stage for action across which characters, larger than life, could stride. But in Steel's histories it is a dramatised version of Indian life, only the last 5 playlets deal with the British Empire. Kings, soldiers, courtiers and their loves,

[421] Quoted in David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London: John Murray, 2005), p. 184.
[422] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge second edition, 2008), pp. 198-202
[423] Flora Annie Steel, *Dramatic History of India: 29 Playlets* (Bombay: K&J Cooper Educational Publishers, 1911)
[424] Flora Annie Steel – William Morris Colles, 21st May 1917, 297/370 Author's syndicate, Ltd collection Harry Ransom Research Centre, The University of Texas at Austin.
[425] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Oxford: Routledge, 1994), p. 1; Henry Rider Haggard, 'About Fiction', *Contemporary Review*, 51 (February 1887)
[426] Steel, *Dramatic History*, p. 183.

fights and betrayals, to convey a Romance of history that naturally culminated in the British, instead of a narrative of the imperial adventurer.

Nevertheless, despite the aesthetic of romance and adventure, it was her pretensions to exactitude and true, objective, knowledge that gave Steel her authority. Her time in India and her contact with its people was the badge that she rested her writing career on as Benita Parry has argued. Nevertheless, her version of Indian culture as powered by irrationality, gives it a history, but refuses to acknowledge any concept of political progression or a narrative of social progress in Indian culture.[427] Historical progress was the exclusive preserve of the British, even the rest of Europe could be denied the same narrative. This static imagining of India and its history was crucial to colonialism. As Elleke Boehmer puts it 'the West thus conceived of its superiority relative to the perceived lack of power, self-consciousness, or ability to think and rule, of colonized peoples.'[428] It was this picture, coming from an acknowledged expert, which helped give credence to the argument that India's own history meant that it had to be governed by an autocracy, an idea that was being given solidity as she was writing, in the first decade of the twentieth century by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon. Curzon's own passion for Indian history and preserving it was largely linked to architecture but had links to the past similar to Steel's. Indian history could be praised and glorified if it was safely in the past, this past, whether in stone or writing was as Thomas Metcalf puts it, 'a past whose illustrious achievements were stages in a historical memory that had, as its end point, the coming of the British Raj.' The glories of Indian art and architecture, the high points in British notions of Indian history, could be conveniently ascribed to successive waves of invaders, of whom the British were, naturally, the greatest. As Curzon himself put it in a speech to the Asiatic society of Bengal in 1900, enumerating the invasions that India had suffered under through history, the British were only 'borne to India on the crest of a later but similar wave'.[429] It is a construction of Indian history with echoes either of barbarous, timeless pasts, or the instinctual passions of children. Either way, it denied India a history of rationality, at least since the coming of the 'Dark Ages', a chapter she tellingly entitles 'Chaos'. Early Indian history could be safely praised as it gave the roots to a culture that, Steel maintained, they had not moved beyond and could in no way threaten the superiority of the modern West.[430]

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[427] Parry, *Delusions*, p. 33
[428] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 21.
[429] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 152 & 175.
[430] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 1-80. 'Chaos' is on p. 76.

Creating an appealing and, to many in Britain, faithful 'romance' in the histories and characters of Indian history was a key part of Steel's conception of India, and the most striking part of her presentation and publicisation of the British Raj. The importance of history and its telling in constructions of national character has long been recognised. Eric Hobsbawm compared the relation of history and nationalism to the poppy seeds in heroin, they were 'the essential raw material for the market'.[431] J.W. Burrows classically linked these histories in Britain with the idea of the 'liberal descent' in constructing a certain image and narrative between past and present.[432] This connection has been developed in the attention given by historians such as Catherine Hall and C.A. Bayly to James Mill, T. B. Macaulay, J. R. Seeley and others.[433] In telling the history of other nations though, Steel approached with an imperial eye. The constant awareness that India from the Second Century BCE would progress, or decline, into a need for British tutelage was a way of narrating the identity and character of India. Steel's history does not accord with the liberal narrative of Macaulay, nor was she a professional historian, although her history was firmly concerned with this predominant narrative. Rather, Steel worked as a populariser, intent on spreading awareness of Indian culture and the British role there with a specific eye on the opinions of the metropole. Steel was looking for the core that would link Indian culture and tradition with British rationalism and vigour in an identity for the British in India. History in the national consciousness in this manner has often been the cause of controversy. Peter Mandler argues that this is often a conscious task. History is used 'as an underpinning of national identity', especially given its close links to national mythologies.[434] Steel's account, although filled with admiring romance and in places replete with respect for Indian history, was an overtly imperial one narrating how the British came to, and should, rule India. Steel explicitly asked the question, 'whether better government has resulted' from that arrival.[435] As her previous experience in India shows, Steel was interested in Indian history for the tales it has to offer, exotic moral parables. Steel's history was as almost exclusively 'British' a history of India in its sources as it could be made, but this does not exclude it from an extent

[431] Eric Hobsbawm, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today," in *Mapping the Nation,* ed. by G. Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), p. 255.
[432] J. W. Burrows, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 2.
[433] C.A. Bayly, 'Religion, Liberalism and Empires: British Historians and Their Indian Critics in the Nineteenth Century', in *Tributary Empires in Global History* ed by Peter Bang and C. A. Bayly (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 27-8. Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012)
[434] Peter Mandler, *History and National Identity* (London & New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2002), p. 7.
[435] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 361

of collaboration with certain Indian groups.[436] Steel's attitudes to Indian culture and history were indelibly shaped by her twenty years in India, often in far closer contact with indigenous groups than most of the British and her curiosity and interest in Indian life, often led to the recording of certain aspects of it, as shown in her collection of folk tales.[437]

Steel's imperialism was linked to a conception of India which had a firm unifying thread; India represented romance. This conception was an exercise in imagining a mythologised life and land, with the British in a widely respected, reforming and just position. This notion came out strongly in Steel's *India through the Ages* which was published, in London, in 1908. For one reviewer the novelist better captured 'the spirit and genius of India' because of this 'literary sense and creative power'.[438] Another reviewer agreed, it was a novelists' job to convey the 'romantic side of Indian history into the horizon of many who would never dream of attacking its more serious aspect'.[439] The literary soul, passionate and linked to impulse and genius, was a crucial tool for understanding India. The imagined history that Steel was contributing to and popularising presented the British as ruling over and helping the sensual, passionate, and still ancient, Indian.[440] Steel projected an India with a long and proud history, replete with wisdom on the spiritual aspects of life. Nevertheless, this affirms Partha Chatterjee's argument about the British 'rule of colonial difference'. [441] Steel maintained that Indian society was fundamentally different and if it did develop along Western lines, which she thought dubious at least in the near future, then fundamental aspects of that society would have to transform out of recognition. This conjures up Saidian conceptions of the ever-present power dynamic in the use of knowledge in colonialism. Knowledge and representation had an imperial purpose and romanticisation was implicated in this, which Said traced through the writers of the Romantic era.[442] Similarly, Benita Parry has noted the generations of Westerners who 'while ignorant of its long secular history, have attributed to India a singular spiritual vocation and/or intimacy with arcane wisdom' and it is this approach, admittedly confused in the minds of the

[436] Norbert Peabody, 'Knowledge formation in Colonial India' in *India and the British Empire*, ed. by Douglas M. Peers and Nandini Gooptu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 77.
[437] Flora Annie Steel and Richard Carnac Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories: A collection of tales told by little children, between sunset and sunrise in the Panjab and Kashmir* (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1884)
[438] 'The Indian Procession.' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*; Aug 29, 1908; 106, 2757; British Periodicals pg. 270
[439] 'The Early History of India, including Alexander's Campaigns.' *The Academy*, 1905-1910; Oct 3, 1908; 1900; British Periodicals pg. 319
[440] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 131-157
[441] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 18-19
[442] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp, 113-5.

imperialists, that Steel followed.[443] This allowed for Steel's unusual place in historian's writings on the British in India. There was an uncertainty and ambivalence about her place in the imperialist project. Steel essentialised, patronised and derogated India, but she retained in her writing a fascination and desire to selectively take things from the thought of India that she admired.

This painting of Indian history as romance was similar to the manner in which, albeit with a strong imperialist accent, many groups within India were beginning to present their own histories. Research groups into Bengali and Marathi history were coming to prominence towards the end of the nineteenth century, which 'often combined literary and other genres to produce romantic and affectionate accounts of the glories of the pasts of different groups in India.' In the early 1900s the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore strongly supported, in the literary magazine *Bharati*, the increased 'enthusiasm for History' that he saw emerging amongst many Indians in the country around this time.[444] Some of these Indian histories written roughly contemporaneously with Steel's share her enthusiasm for the romance of Indian history, painting vivid pictures of great historical Indians.[445] But, Steel was not, evidently, part of this tradition or that of the increasingly 'scientific' conception of history that was gathering pace both in Europe and India. Similarly, this parallel does not link Steel's *India Through the Ages: A Popular and Picturesque History of Hindustan*, to this group, either intellectually or in a shared source base. This Indian historical movement was primarily based in Bengal, whereas Steel's experience, travels, and work was largely confined to the Punjab.[446] Although Steel was not averse to collecting oral testimonies in the form of tales from Indian villagers, it was not a source for her history. Whilst in India she collected a series of Indian folk tales by conducting interviews in villages which she visited during her time in the 'various districts of which her husband has been Chief Magistrate'. Steel spread a carpet 'under a tree in the vicinity of the spot' and waited for different members of the village to approach her and through discussion and encouragement, to tell her their folk tales, 'for there is always a story-teller *par excellence*

[443] Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p. 7.

[444] Quoted in Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'The Birth of Academic Historical Writing in India' in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4. 1800-1945* ed. by Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, Attila Pok (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 524-25.

[445] See Sumit Guha, 'Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India, 1400-1900', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (October 2004), pp. 1084-1103

[446] Kumkum Chatterjee, 'The King of Controversy: History and Nation-Making in Late Colonial India', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 110, No. 5 (December 2005), pp. 1454-1475 Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 94-125 charts the links between historiography, nationalism and its connection to the Marathas, especially as the Indian nationalist movement burgeoned from the late 1880s onwards.

in every village.'[447] But this method of collecting tales was not extended to her histories, although it was a key part of her claim to expertise on contemporary Indian culture. Through this interest though, Steel does fall on one side of Sumit Guha's separation of historiography, that 'either Indic civilisation lacked any capacity for rational history, or that it had always possessed a distinguishably historical tradition'.[448] Within her strong imperialist opinions, Steel worked to deepen British knowledge of India, albeit one with a strong gloss of British prejudice. Despite this work, Steel wrote her history almost exclusively from, as she admits in the preface, 'a compilation from published sources' in Britain.[449]

Steel's history has superficial similarities with the nationalist histories of India or older English version of history writings, such as Thomas Babington Macaulay's. Both have as their central features the progression towards a largely pre-ordained goal and the enlivening of the narrative with colourful individual tales. Steel's history was undoubtedly less ambitious in its scope, but it was asking similar questions about a country's identity and worked in a similar mode.[450] In Britain, Indian Nationalists were also employing this same history to emphasise India's claim to nationhood. Romesh Dutt's *Economic History of India under early British Rule (1902)*, Henry Cotton's *New India (1907)* and Dadabhai Naoroji's speeches to parliament and societies emphasised how 'two thousand years ago they [Indians] were the most highly civilised nation in the world'. Similarly, the member of Congress and historian, G. K. Gokhale boasted how 'we were the first to emerge from barbarism'.[451] In Britain, Indian nationalists often had to adapt to the British argument that India had degenerated from a glorious past but enjoyed respect because of this past. For groups within India, the inaccuracies and blatant prejudice of British accounts of historical India, offered scope to emphasise the continued strength of Indian civilisation as 'modern and rational'.[452] History was a battleground in determining the identity and position of the country in Britain, one which Steel was entering on the popular imperial side.

Steel intended *India Through the Ages* to be popular and accessible to the general reader and the book went through 5 editions between its publication in 1908 and 1919. Steel approached

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[447] Steel, *Wide-Awake Stories*. This was republished as Flora Annie Steel, *Tales of the Punjab: Told by the people, with illustrations by J. Lockwood Kipling and notes by R. C. Temple* (London: Macmillan, 1922), pp. vi-vii.
[448] Guha, 'Speaking historically', p. 1085.
[449] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*.
[450] Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 261-6
[451] In 1900 and 1897 respectively, quoted in Jonathan Schneer, *London: 1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 196.
[452] Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, p. 100.

her history like she approached her novels. Unlike H.G. Keene's *History of India*, the standard work which went through many editions, she was not interested in advancing historical meta-narratives or in detailed historical research. Neither was Steel interested in the widespread comparisons with Imperial Rome made by those such as James Bryce in *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India.*[453] Steel was writing something consciously different and so approached the events with a novelistic interpretation, ignoring the grand comparisons, sociological interpretations or narratives of these historians.[454] Nevertheless, Steel did have her own argument to advance; romantic fantasy was crucial to understanding the character and history of India. In the first section of her history of Hindustan, she emphasises the extent to which India had always been ruled 'through its imagination'. Writing about the two greatest Indian kings, Asoka and Akbar, she argues that they were both singularly successful because they 'both claimed pre-eminence as apostles of a Faith in the Unknown; both appealed to the people on transcendental grounds'.[455] This rule through the imagination, the impressionability that Steel considered Indians to have as an integral part of their history and character, was a lesson. As with this chapter's section title, which Steel noted in a diary in the 1890s from a conversation with an English official in India, India needed fewer complex laws and procedures, it needed 'a return to the simpler, more despotic rule of forty years ago'.[456] It was essential to the rule of the British, outnumbered and believing themselves to be besieged, physically and psychologically, to maintain this aura.

Historical lessons like this were also useful because Steel believed, like most contemporary viewers of India, in its timelessness. This widespread notion comes to the fore when dealing with British histories of India as it led to little divide in the representations of Indian society in history and in accounts of contemporary India. Nevertheless, there was a decline from grandeur as Steel endeavoured to explain the shift from the Mughals to the supposed 'decadence' of modern India. In *India*, written in 1905 and illustrated by Mortimer Menpes, Steel argued that the British position as rulers, established by conquest, was now perpetuated by the passivity of the population as, 'nothing is more striking than the way in which any excess of vitality above the normal impresses the native'. The British ruled through the prestige that their vital national

[453] H. G. Keene, *History of India* (London: Allen, 1893); James Bryce, *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914) Also see Bell, *Reordering Empire*, pp. 119-147.
[454] C.A., Bayly, 'Religion, Liberalism and Empires: British Historians and Their Indian Critics in the Nineteenth Century', in *Tributary Empires in Global History* ed by Peter Bang and C. A. Bayly (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 27-8.
[455] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 46.
[456] Steel, Garden of Fidelity, p. 210.

spirit gave them and 'the native followed on instinctively'.[457] Rather than place Britain as the heirs of imperial Rome, taking up a tradition of European imperialism, Steel used ideas about ruling through the Indian imagination to compare the British to great Indian monarchs. Indian monarchs had used these absolutist methods in the past as she made clear in her history. Steel positioned the British as the heirs of the greatest of the Indian monarchs, Akbar and Asoka, who, by grandeur and vigour, rose above a country usually characterised by 'Great Apathy'.[458] The same characterisations flowed seamlessly from her ancient histories of India to contemporary observations.

Steel drew extensively from this Indian history in her novels. In the first book in her Mughal trilogy, Steel lionised the Emperor Akbar, calling him in the preface to *A Prince of Dreamers* from 1908, 'literally centuries ahead of his time' and arguing that the greatness of Akbar was in his 'aloofness' from his surroundings in India.[459] Although this was Steel in many ways displaying her fascination with Indian history, it was closely linked with imperial rule and England, especially as the novel opens with an embassy from Queen Elizabeth I.[460] Alex Padamsee has noted that this was an act of appropriation. The Mughals were presented as being quintessentially British. Indeed, the emphasis and juxtaposition of Indian and British is so obvious it almost seems as if Steel was worried that 'the very Britishness of the Mughals would be lost beneath the Oriental details'.[461] If the Mughals were presented as precursors to the British then the rule of Britain in India could then be placed in a wholly Indian tradition of invaders and conquerors, thus legitimising it in an 'Eastern' context. If India had simply been fought over and ruled by different people for centuries, the British were simply the greatest and last in a long line, giving them the right to be there. Power, might, and the right of conquest, these feudal conceptions of authority were an integral part of the justification for empire in Steel's and many conservative Britons minds.[462] The simple right of conquest was enough justification in a land where this was a supposed commonplace and absolute rule was therefore deemed to be similarly suitable. The ruling power, the Mughals or the British, had to be sacred in the Indian imagination, sanctified and absolute. The absolutism and sovereign right of

[457] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 201.
[458] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 76.
[459] Flora Annie Steel, *A Prince of Dreamers* (London: W. Heinemann, 1908), p. xi. Flora Annie Steel, *The Adventures of Akbar* (London: W. Heinemann, 1913) and Flora Annie Steel, *Mistress of Men* (London: W. Heinemann, 1917)
[460] Steel, *Dreamers*, pp. x & 18-25
[461] Alex Padamsee, 'The Politics of Sovereignty and Violence in Flora Annie Steel's A Prince of Dreamers', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 58:1, (Spring 2012), pp. 33-4
[462] Wilson, 'The Silence of Empire', p. 224.

judgment beyond the law was sanctified in the brilliant and luxurious figures of the Mughal Emperors and their courts.[463] This was adopted by Steel, in an India rocked by the agitations and unrest of swadeshi, as an argument in support of Curzonite rule by grandeur, pageantry and the imagination, absolute, imperious, and just.[464]

Reviewers of Steel's novel noted the historical parallel as well. In the *Times Literary Supplement*, the reviewer notes, echoing Steel's preface, that, Akbar 'was centuries ahead of his time. The dreams that he dreamt became solid facts, some in his own time, some in the later history of his country under the British Raj.'[465] Nevertheless, Steel still emphasised the grand imagination of India in the paternal absolutism of Akbar's rule, and by extension, what British rule should be. *Punch* remarked on this convergence when it wrote that 'Akbar himself was a bit of a Socialist in his way, and mingled a taste for advanced political theories with a very thorough-going mysticism.' But, in the 'dazzling riot of Eastern colour' which the novel produces, this, the first of Steel's great Mughals, appeared to be British in his character and temperament.[466] The British Raj was thus positioned as an heir to the Mughals, thus allowing the greatness and achievements of their predecessors to be appropriated and thereby safely praised. Fitting the British Empire into indigenous forms and traditions was a crucial aspect of Curzon's attempts to remodel British rule in India. It was an attempt during these years to 'represent themselves, and their empire, as 'Indian'' as Thomas Metcalf has argued, and the appropriation of history was a key part of this.[467]

These historical novels, as well as her histories, were an exercise in imagining character. Steel was no exception to the prominence which was accorded to notions of character, as has been noted elsewhere in this thesis, in using this as a way of determining causality in society.[468] History had determined the character of the Indian peoples and their character determined their subsequent history. Prestige and vitality, or their supposed absence, were crucial and the way

[463] For instance, Steel, *Dreamers*, pp. 92-4 & 213-5
[464] Alex Padamsee, *The Return of the Mughal: Historical Fiction and Despotism in Colonial India, 1863-1908* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 97.
[465] Gerald FitzGerald Campbell, and G. Campbell, "A Prince of Dreamers." *The Times Literary Supplement*, 12 Nov. 1908, p. 403. Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4rs6F7. Accessed 22 May 2017.
[466] Mr. Punch's Staff of Learned Clerks [Charles Turley Smith]. "Our Booking-Office." *Punch*, 20 Jan. 1909, p. 54. *Punch Historical Archive, 1841-1992*, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/ES700011679/GDCS?u=univbri&sid=GDCS&xid=d4cc2b36. Accessed 30 July 2019.
[467] Thomas Metcalf, 'Past and Present: Towards and Aesthetics of Colonialism', in Thomas Metcalf, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 171.
[468] Stefan Collini, 'The Idea of 'Character' in Victorian Political Thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 35 (1985), p. 31.

in which they were conceived in Steel's writing also fed into the differing essential values that she ascribed to the people of India. Their history gave them different and largely unalterable identities. Benita Parry has observed this differentiation and argues that her depiction of the differing religions is marked. Steel's contempt for Muslim 'sensuality and decadence' is a disapproval of a once great people who have fallen as her positive depictions of the Mughals demonstrates. Conversely, her censure of Hindus was more wholesale as a people who had never risen to greatness.[469] Romance as a genre lent itself to archetypes and it was these, projected through an historical lens, which Steel was presenting. History in this way maintained the British image of the 'effeminate Bengali', the 'manly Rajput' and the common belief behind the stark differences in character between Muslims and Hindus. Bengali's were 'much better clerks than the Panjabis', and were 'excellent folk, but they are born agitators'.[470] This did not preclude Steel from drawing examples of Indian grandeur and valour in her histories such as Akbar or the Empress Nurjahan, but they still adhered to certain, 'Indian' notions of character; they were safely enough in the past not to have a bearing on contemporary India, despite its supposed timelessness. Of course, every Indian was condemned by the contrast with the archetypal manly Englishman, exemplified by Robert Clive or the revered John Nicholson whom Steel wanted inducted into the 'family of British pluck' which she saw being built up around Kitchener, Kipling and Rhodes.[471]

Indian History and the Perils of Westernisation

Attempting to place the British in India within an Indian tradition from the Mughals and arguing strongly for the particularities through which British rule in India should be conducted, Steel was deeply opposed to westernisation. Indian education and how, or if, the British should go about raising Indians to Western levels of civilisation was a wide topic of controversy in colonial circles. Missionaries were often mistrusted in India for this very reason; their mission was intrinsically linked to civilising and evangelising. For many linked to the Indian Civil Service, excessive interference in the Indian way of life had been a key cause of the chaos of

[469] Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p. 114.
[470] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 189.
[471] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 7; Flora Annie Steel – William Morris Colles, Received 20th December, 1898. 297/60 Author's syndicate, Ltd collection, Harry Ransom Research Centre, The University of Texas at Austin

1857, the reaction to which coloured so much of subsequent Anglo-Indian life.[472] Flora Annie Steel's interest and passion for India, and its history, depended largely on her belief in the unchanging difference of India and the dangers of Western change. In a newspaper article written in 1908 for the *Saturday Review*, Steel argued that the effect of Western influence on India was, 'curiously local, and in vast tracts of mind and body it has not appeared at all.' She linked this to the pervasive idea of the true identity of India being in the villages rather than the towns, which cut across British distrust of Indian city intellectuals and Gandhi's emphasis on swadeshi.[473] She argued that, 'when I first knew India, it was possible within two miles of a cantonment bazaar to forget the West utterly… And so it is now. You have to go a few miles further maybe'.[474] Steel saw the influence of the British on most of the Indian people as superficial at best, they could be ruled well and effectively by the British, but any attempt to make them more like the British would be slow, hard, and probably ineffective. The British implicitly recognised how recent their arrival and establishment was, especially in the changed context of post-company India.[475] The searching which Steel and others in India engaged in was a direct response to this, and so, Steel and Curzon were attempting to place Britain within an Indian tradition. India was vast and so westernisation was confined to certain areas, nevertheless it could distort the beauteous simplicity of Indian life where it did appear.

Steel's non-fiction writings betray a deep nostalgia for the India which she believed the British Empire to be uprooting. 'For India seems inclined to swallow the West en bloc' and it is these Indian customs she was anxious to commemorate as 'in a dozen more years the buried history of Hindustan will hold many things worthy of a longer life.'[476] Rural life, in villages and in the fields, was a powerfully romantic sentiment at the time and not just in India; reconnection with the land was also a powerful draw in settling in the Dominions.[477] Steel harked back, like many conservative Britons in India, to an earlier, simpler, feudal past, closely connected to village and agricultural life. This seemed to embody a purer form of life and promise more harmonious

[472] Jon Wilson, *India Conquered: Britain's Raj and the Chaos of Empire* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2016), p. 228.
[473] Sumit Sarkar, 'Nationalisms in India', in *India and the British Empire*, ed by Douglas M. Peers and Nandini Gooptu (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 159. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 41.
[474] Flora Annie Steel, 'An Indian Jubilee' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature and art*, Nov 7, 1908; British Periodicals, p. 571.
[475] This unstable "newness" in the self-perceptions of Anglo-Indians has been analysed by Alan Johnson, *Out of Bounds: Anglo-Indian Literature and the Geography of Displacement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 3-4.
[476] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 29.
[477] Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity and the politics of land, 1880-1914* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2008), p. 78.

relations between the classes and races in India.[478] Feudal modes could express an unabashed parallel between hopes for, and the history of, England at this time. As such, Steel can be seen as an imperial translator and communicator who is deliberately distorting British practices in India in order to make British actions seem more beneficent.

Despite arguing that westernisation was having a 'curiously local' effect on India, Steel did voice concerns repeatedly about what it could and was doing in some parts of Indian society. Most of the effects that the West had upon India were seen as malign. Indian attempts to westernise themselves ended badly in Steel's telling as they became isolated from their culture without fully being able to become British and were lost in the limbo between the two cultures.[479] Writing in her autobiography about the education of Indians, she worried about the danger of 'forcing bulbs before they have strong soil-hold' and therefore the 'rapid intellectual growth of the Indian schoolboy require[s] repression, rather than stimulation'.[480] Steel used her position after the publication of *On the Face of the Waters* to join the debate on Britain and India and make her voice heard by writing letters for the correspondence columns of certain elite newspapers such as *The Times* or the *Saturday Review*.[481] In one of the first of these letters in 1897, Steel argued that the influence of Western civilisation was having a distorting effect on India, especially as the pace of change was increasing in the West, its effects could be felt all the sooner in the East. The simplicity of Indian life, she wrote, 'which fostered no distinctions of class, had been preserved, for three thousand years by Indian civilisation, but ours will destroy it in fifty years.'[482] This destruction was apparent to Steel in many areas of Indian life. The appearance of Manchester cotton had, as she acknowledged, destroyed the Indian textile industry, one which, 'when untampered by the West these remain in many ways beautiful exceedingly'.[483] Whether in morals, intellect, or industry, British interference in Indian life should be severely limited, not, in Steel's telling, because they feared the reaction this could engender, but because it was detrimental to their life. This was what had, so far, and thankfully, been the limited and local effect of westernisation in India, although this had

[478] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism,* pp. 42-3
[479] There are also instances of this in Steel's fiction such as 'On the second Storey', *In the Permanent Way and Other Stories* (London: W. Heinemann, 1898) and 'Feroza', *The Flower of Forgiveness* (New York & London: Macmillan & Co. 1894)
[480] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 109.
[481] Grainne Goodwin, '"Yours truly, Flora Annie Steel" Gender, Empire and Indian Pressure Politics in the Times's Correspondence Columns, 1897-1910' in *A Critical Study of an unconventional memsahib: Flora Annie Steel* ed by Susmita Roye (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2017), pp. 183-206.
[482] Flora Annie Steel, 'The Women of India and how we are making them miserable' *The Review of Reviews*, July 1897, 16, British Periodicals, p. 53.
[483] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 106.

certainly been destructive enough. Westernisation resulted in individuals or industries being raised into a cultureless and suffocating limbo between the two cultures.

Steel's insistence that westernisation in India was dangerous to the point of deadliness raises the obvious question that, if the British saw their influence upon Indian life as detrimental and any attempt to change Indian culture was misguided at best; then why were the British in India? There is no question that Steel was strongly imperialist, she considered of the British in India that, 'nothing is finer; nothing in the whole history of the world is more worthy of praise'.[484] This justification was drawn from the cultural memories of the revolt of 1857, the historical argument of British presence and expense. The heroism that had been displayed had to be defended and honoured by subsequent generations who took up this mantle. Rhetoric about improvement or considerations of economic benefit in India could play their part, but for someone so close to the imperial bureaucracy in India as Steel was, she and they, considered British rule after the travails of 1857 to simply be a fact. It was there 'to undo the dishonour of 1857's tragic defeat'. But crucially, the solidity that the crushing of opposition in 1857 supposedly imbued British rule with led the British imperial bureaucracy to consider their rule to be permanent.[485] Victory in 1857 meant that they could rule India along more 'Eastern' lines, they had it by right of conquest and would rule it more justly, fairly, and efficiently than the Indians had done themselves. In the final chapter of her book on contemporary India she argued that although India was being ruled well by the British along 'Western lines' many of the problems lay in British attempts to use Western solutions for Eastern problems. Steel used the example of Japanese modernisation to argue that Eastern, more collective philosophies could take the best of what the West had done and reject others, allowing them to develop in a manner more suited to the East. 'The East', as a collective mentality and one with an essentialised homogenous mentality contrasted with 'the West' demanded a different approach, an acceptance of their identity and fewer 'Western salves' for their problems. As she put it, 'India goes on in her tutelage and goes on well. The question is, might she not go one better?'[486] Britain was in India to rule, not to westernise other than slightly or superficially. She was there because the British were the ruling race, and its rule, adapted along Eastern or despotic lines, would save the Indians from the anarchy of their violent history and provide them with good, honest government. As she wrote in her autobiography in 1928, long after having left the

[484] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 196.
[485] Wilson, *India Conquered*, p. 265.
[486] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 210.

country, ‘in time India will govern herself, but only in time; so, in the interests of all, let us take it’.[487]

The anxiety about British influence on India, how far it extended and who it benefited, was part of a wider British anxiety about their precarious position in India. Jon Wilson has argued that the idea of British order and *Pax Britannica* outside of a few ‘safe havens’ was largely a delusion, and that many of the British were well aware of it. Steel, as the wife of a member of the Indian Civil Service who was posted to remote stations such as Kasur in the Punjab, far from the centres of British authority was well aware of this fragility.[488] The emphasis on prestige that many accounts of India share is a recognition that the British were vulnerable if their aura of authority was tarnished. In her autobiography, Steel recalls how she ‘helped the prestige of the British Raj’ by her bearing and dignity, a lack of which was her main criticism of the Mission Ladies in India. Steel recalled one occasion in which she and a Mission lady visited a Nawabin in Purdah at their house in Delhi and were not greeted with the proper respect or etiquette. Unwilling to allow this reception, treated as she would ‘not dare to treat her youngest sister-in-law (the height of rudeness)’, Steel left, telling the Nawabin, through the Mission lady who had accompanied her, to receive her properly. Returning later, Steel was far more satisfied with the observance of etiquette, her reception and the respect she was afforded. Steel expressly recorded this story as a parable, concluding that, ‘I think this story shows indubitably the value of etiquette in dealing with High-Class Indians’.[489] The insistence on proper etiquette and respect was an integral aspect of the British position in India, if they let themselves be treated in a cavalier fashion by the Indian people, even high-class ones, then their position would be put in jeopardy. This was an intensely political position linked to how India could be governed. The feudal conception of India, incurably caste-ridden and predominantly rural, was crucial to how the British ruled.[490] Class, filtered through ideas of caste, became the important factor in how India was managed. If the separation between Briton and Indian was so important then the Raj had to be ruled autocratically, moves towards Home Rule and the democratic inclusion of Indians within branches of government were not only misguided and premature, they were liable to destroy the whole system.

The most perverse example of British influence for Steel, and the most destructive, was how they influenced and educated individual Indians out of their culture and proper societal place.

[487] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 253.
[488] Wilson, *India Conquered*, p. 498. See Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 104 for her experiences in Kasur.
[489] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, pp. 165-6
[490] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 43.

Educated Indians who had been westernised were often seen as a particular threat to the British order, especially in a conception of India that romanticised the peasant in a markedly feudal manner. The early 1900s saw an increase in opposition to British rule, particularly in newspapers such as Surendranath Banerjea's *India*, a figure with whom Steel had an exchange through the letter pages of *The Times*.[491] Banerjea was campaigning for Indian rights and was a prominent member of the Indian National Congress by the early 1900s. In this exchange, written at the time that Banerjea was supporting the Morley-Minto reforms in India, Steel took a hard line condemning him. Steel attacked him, not for sedition itself although she does condemn his 'petty slanders', but for not coming out in condemnation of Indian violence strongly enough.

Steel had remained closely concerned with India whilst in Britain from the 1890s onwards, getting her information from the newspapers, colonial contacts and informal networks.[492] The increase in opposition to British rule, which often peppered the colonial columns of these publications, disturbed her greatly. This increased her conviction that the British in India were a thin defence against anarchism. Written opposition to the British in newspapers and elsewhere was, she argued, influential in the terrorism directed against the British and was influencing the loyalty of Indians more widely. Steel put this down to the political simplicity of the average Indian. Writing in the aftermath of the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie in 1909 she argued that the sedition of Indian nationalists was responsible because Indians as a people were incapable of making the distinction between constitutional and non-constitutional opposition to the government. She elided written criticism of the government and the murder, as she claimed that Indians did, and called for action on this basis. As she put it, 'life is very simple to the ploughman at his plough; he cannot differentiate between disloyal deeds. Why should we?'[493] Steel emphasised to her British public the Indian propensity to violence which seditious writing encouraged. India was different and simpler and so needed harsher laws on speech than Britain.

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[491] Flora Annie Steel et al. "Indian Loyalty." Times, 12 July 1909, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4sB5. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017; ELLIOTT., C. A., and SURENDRANATH BANERJEE. "Indian Loyalty." Times, 13 July 1909, p. 10. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4sm5. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.

[492] Goodwin, '"Yours truly, Flora Annie Steel"', pp. 184-5

[493] Flora Annie Steel. "English M.P.'S And Indian Anarchism." *The Times*, 6 July 1909, p. 10. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4yP9. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017; Steel, F. A., et al. "Indian Loyalty." *The Times*, 12 July 1909, p. 4. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4sB5. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.

As demands for a degree of Home Rule in India began to get louder, Steel was increasingly concerned to persuade the public in Britain that this would be catastrophic. Steel objected that the British would merely be handing India over to an unrepresentative, indifferent oligarchy in the educated Brahmin caste. The elites to which Home Rule would hand control of power would, Steel argues, be unable, as the British oligarchy was, to be impartial in government. Steel was attempting, through the Letters pages of *The Times*, speeches, and articles, to influence the British public and government about the condition that India was deteriorating into. She became part of the new Indo-British association which was founded in late 1917 with the explicit aim of opposing all measures calculated to 'destroy or weaken the paramount authority' of the British in India.[494] Her address to this association in August of 1918 was printed in *The Times* and here she made it clear that, whilst she had no objection to oligarchies, 'I rather like them', she simply thought that independence would be swapping the British one in India for an inferior, Brahmin, one. The 'Three great Evils of India', female infanticide, infant marriage, and enforced widowhood, had barely improved during British rule, a fact she argued meant that there had been no demonstration of responsibility on the part of Indians and therefore the British should continue their rule. [495]

Similarly, in her later novels such as *The Law of the Threshold* (1924), Steel emphasised more harshly how westernisation was distorting Indian identity. This was happening not merely with tragic consequences for the Indians themselves as Steel had argued in her earlier writings, it was now allied with the new internationally ubiquitous fear, bolshevism. Just before her death, reflecting on the state of India in her autobiography, Steel argued that there was 'an extremely imperfect electorate' to speak of, especially given how 'for the present the question of the woman's vote in India is negligible' she rhetorically asked, 'which is to come first? Independence or an electorate?'[496] By the time of her address to the Indo-British association, Steel had been away from India for twenty years and for thirty by the time she came to write her autobiography. The separation from India and time in colonial circles in Britain seems to have led Steel to become more reactionary as memory of it faded and she aged. In her address Steel was careful to point out that her fiction, which she acknowledges has shaped many views of India, had omitted 'many sordid details of Indian life'. The romance that came across in

[494] "The New Indo-British Association." *The Times*, 10 Dec. 1917, p. 7. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4eB8. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.
[495] "The Indo-British Association." *The Times*, 9 Aug. 1918, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4dg2. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.
[496] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, pp. 252-3

these novels should not lead her audience to believe Indian society to be better than it was.[497] This argument, although it probably contains a kernel of truth, seems disingenuous. Steel's earlier writings, both fiction and non-fiction, when she was in the country or not long out of it are far more nuanced in their consideration of Britain and their relation to the Indian communities.

This danger in India was, for Steel, largely of Britain's own making in educating seditious Indians. Westernisation was sowing the seeds of its own demise. Steel's ambivalence about India, its place in the hierarchy of civilisations and its culture, is ever-present. Nevertheless, Steel prized some of the learning of India, and particularly ancient India. She was concerned with the history and contemporary thought of India, because she saw valuable lessons, vestiges of an older way of living that the modern world and industrialisation had extinguished in the West and was harming in the rest of the world. This was why she wrote, to promote knowledge of India, its brilliance and its flaws. But, the modernisation and westernisation of India seemed vulgar and destructive in many ways and she argues that,

> the most advanced thinkers of the West are day by day coming back to the philosophies of the East; so, perhaps the two great streams of thought, one surcharged with activities, the other with passivities, may meet, not in collision or absorption, but in an absolute welding together of all that is good and true in either.[498]

There was an essential truth in 'Eastern' philosophy that she wanted to encourage and retain. She believed that there was an absolute philosophical truth that humanity was progressing towards and the wisdom and philosophies of India were an integral part of that. Steel was evidently concerned that the spiritualism and philosophy of the East would be neglected. But there is no doubt which she assumed was charged with 'passivities' and which with 'activities'. This essential truth was concerned with the polar oppositions about the identities of East and West, and a justification for their respective positions in the colonial project. The aspects of Indian culture that Steel enthusiastically praises, and her awe and reverence for parts of Hindu culture can be striking and there is little doubt that she did have a profound respect for some Indian thought, particularly in its spiritualism. But the aspects which she praised were precisely

[497] The Indo-British Association." *The Times*, 9 Aug. 1918, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4dg2. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.
[498] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 61.

those which she used to intellectually position Indian people in their subordinate place most effectively.

Steel's essentialising view of India was tempered by her contention that ancient India and its wisdom had been far ahead of the West at the time and the wisdom of ancient Indian writing, such as the Upanishads, which gave 'a veritable light in the darkness of many philosophies', still had things to teach.[499] India had simply declined from that glory since, albeit with a resurgence during the Mughals, particularly in the reigns of Babar and Akbar. In her history of Hindustan, Steel rhapsodises about ancient India in a manner that is reminiscent of much contemporary writing on ancient Rome and Greece. Essentialising societies meant that knowledge and learning gained in ancient India was still valuable, timeless wisdom was more than just a phrase in this conception of history. Therefore, studying ancient India, something that could be separated from the modern colonial project, was helpful in the search. Ancient India, 'was at once an age of keen speculation and rapid crystallisation almost unequalled in the history of any nation' and these flashes of grand brilliance were useful in the search towards this 'truer' manner of living. Steel was perfectly willing to accord to ancient Indian practice a pre-eminence above the West, for instance, in praising early Indian medicine she writes, 'thus, once more, the East saw light sooner than the West; for the first hospital in Europe only struggled into existence more than five hundred years after this one at Magadha.' But Steel was only able to acknowledge that, 'India was in those days far more civilised than Europe' because of their respective contemporary positions.[500]

The imperial relationship in India was one on which Steel had no doubt and therefore, given what she considered to be the depths of degeneracy that India had fallen into, the wisdom and culture of the past could be safely praised. But the safety and colonial context of this search did not preclude Steel from attempting to take certain 'timeless truths', albeit distorted and manipulated by time and the imperial agenda, from ancient Indian writings. Steel was searching the Indian past and culture, in order to promote it and its wisdom on certain matters in Britain. The danger in India largely came from westernisation, in educating Indians along western lines to sedition and a questioning of the order the British had created.

[499] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 23.
[500] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 27 & 66 & 70.

Knowing India: Classification and Historical Conceptions of Indian character

Racial classifications were, and are, steeped in notions of history. History determined the characteristics of different peoples, races or religions of India, making them martial, cowardly or deceptive.[501] There was often a similar underlying reliance upon racial causation in Steel's writings. In her consideration of contemporary India, she described the Hindu disregard of death as an integral aspect of their religion. Through sweeping generalisations, she described how Muslims were not as skilled agriculturally or possessive of the entrepreneurial spirit as Hindus, but better at breeding horses and cattle because their history determined them to be a 'more proud' people.[502] In Steel's non-fiction works these categorisations were a frequent performative aspect of her position as Indian expert, demonstrating her intimate knowledge of the different peoples of India. History was used to create and cement a general essentialised character for any particular section of the community. Steel then used this history to reinforce the archetypes that justified a certain method of ruling in the Raj. These archetypes explained why the British could, for instance, recruit the 'manly Rajput' as soldiers, but not others.[503] British histories of India reinforced the status quo. They also presented in Britain Steel's vision, and that of much of the Anglo-Indian elite, of British rule, one that was often more autocratic than many in Britain would like. This was especially the case in the years between the Viceroyalty of Curzon and 1910 as Minto's reforms were attempting to create a more liberalised form of government, an 'imperial recess' for a Liberal party less bombastic in its imperial ideology.[504]

Steel's public voice and authority in her journalism, novels, and histories were all based on the extent to which she was considered to truly 'know' India. Her position as publicist and novelist was purely down to her status as an Indian expert. Knowing India was something which was built through her residence in India for over twenty years, as well as through this historical knowledge. The extent to which the wider British community both within India and in Britain itself, 'knew' the country they lived in and ruled over was an abiding concern to Steel. In Steel's writing this was not strongly linked with Douglas Kerr's argument about any fear of 'going native' or the knowledge creating 'too assimilative a contact' in British-Indian relations, which

[501] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)
[502] Menpes and Steel, *India*, pp. 70-1, 75 & 78.
[503] For more on these 'martial races' stereotypes, see Gavin Rand, ''Martial Races' and 'Imperial Subjects': Violence and Governance in Colonial India, 1857–1914', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 13:1, pp. 1-20
[504] Wilson, *India Conquered*, p. 386.

she argued should be simply maintained by the dignity of the British officials.[505] Her housekeeping guide, histories, many of her novels and stories as well as her journalism were all concerned with tackling the question of British knowledge about India. *The Complete Indian Housekeeper & Cook* that Flora Annie Steel wrote with Grace Gardiner in the late 1880s went through seven editions in the next two decades alone and was a mainstay of many British women who went out to India. This handbook took as its premise that the European stores should be avoided on a cost basis. Consequently, the manual attempts to guide women just coming out to India how to engage with local sources in order to save money.[506] Both of the authors evidently envisaged the household as an important point of imperial contact and, comparing the ruling of the household to the ruling of the Indian Empire in an oft-quoted passage, they emphasised the dignity and prestige that must be maintained.[507] Crucially, however, they considered a degree of familiarity with the culture and particularly the language of their servants as essential to this and recommended learning Hindustani. As Alison Blunt has argued, the home in India had an intrinsically imperial geography, ruled like the empire outside the home and subject to exactly the same pressures. But an integral part of Steel and Gardiner's call was that this required knowledge of Indian culture, a degree of interest in the supervision of servants, and an involvement that they considered rare in the common 'indifference displayed by many Indian mistresses'.[508]

The use of 'knowing' India was also displayed in Steel's novels in more extreme situations like the dangers of the rebellion of 1857. The genre of the 'Mutiny Novel' of which Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* was arguably the most well-known, was immensely popular in the 1890s and 1900s. It went through numerous editions in Britain and the USA as well as being published in Heinemann's colonial library of popular fiction for the Empire in 1903.[509] Attridge links this popularity of the 'Mutiny Novels' with the military imagination which was fired by the South African war around 1900, but was uncomfortable with too close reference to it.[510] Steel's novel was before the unsettling effects of this war, but it still allowed a heroic setting for valiant

[505] Douglas Kerr, *Eastern Figures: Orient and Empire in British Writing* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), p. 237
[506] Flora Annie Steel and Grace Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper & Cook: giving the duties of mistress and servants, the general management of the house and practical recipes for cooking in all its branches* (London: Heinemann, 1902), pp. x & 2.
[507] Steel and Gardiner, *Complete Indian Housekeeper*, p. 9.
[508] Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1999), p. 429; Steel and Gardiner, *Indian Housekeeper*, pp.1-2.
[509] Flora Annie Steel, *On the Face of the Waters* (London: W. Heinemann, 1903) There were over fifteen different editions of the book in the USA, Britain and the Empire between 1896 and 1903.
[510] Steve Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 139.

British actions in a war which had not been rocked by scandal like the Crimean had, against an easily demonised foe, and with a definite outcome for readers in the 1890s. The continuing presence and debates over British governance gave the war of 1857 relevance; it confirmed the British in their feelings of superiority, but also allowed for explorations of Indian attachment to the British. Examples of Indian loyalty, both Muslim and Hindu, such as Tara's to Jim Douglas (the hero) in this novel, serve to soften an argument which could be construed as simply that the British were in India by force.[511] 1857 represented British heroism against enemies of low cunning, which satisfied an appetite for military narratives, but with the assurance of victory. Nevertheless, the war represented a continuing profound image of British imperialism to Steel and many interested in British India.[512] It was an event where the British Empire had been profoundly challenged but was rescued by the heroism and character of the British and their subservient Indian allies.

The ability to know India well enough to pass as Indian is an integral part of Jim Douglas's heroism in *On the Face of the Waters.* He has the knowledge to take part in what Chakravarty has called a 'fantasy of surveillance' that many novels of 1857 indulge in.[513] Given the strong racial anxieties which India always evoked for the British, Steel, although she does present some transgressing of the colour line, always knew that her heroes and their primary interests, were white. Despite disguise and masquerading as Indian being a common occurrence in the novel, Steel is careful to give any aspect of 'going native' strict limits. Jim Douglas successfully and repeatedly disguises himself as Indian to get a better understanding of Indian sentiment. Kate Erlton disguises herself as Indian to survive in Delhi during the siege. Nevertheless, both characters dream of going back to England to an idealised home.[514] The inevitable flipside to a close knowing of India was the danger of it, as Douglas Kerr has argued, collapsing the boundaries between rulers and ruled. But refuge was found for Steel in the knowledge of British character and their all-conquering affection for their native country, rather than in an argument about the unknowability of India.[515] But, although British identity had to be safeguarded, Steel was promoting an idealised Briton in India who could maintain the safety of the British community, and in the event of unrest, be close enough to the Indian one. Knowing India was crucial not only to govern it efficiently, but to live in it as an effective housekeeper, different,

[511] Steel, *Face of the Waters*, p. 281
[512] Metcalf, *Forging the Raj*, p. 25
[513] Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 142-5.
[514] Steel, *Face of the Waters*, pp. 67, 284-5, 357.
[515] Kerr, *Eastern Figures: Orient and Empire*, p. 237

but closely connected aspects of the British in India for Steel. Knowledge of India had practical, everyday uses for the British in India as well as the more dramatic need to protect themselves from the ever-present threat of violent Indians.

The link between British knowledge of Indian character and their place, higher than supposed savages, was displayed for Steel, in a controversial public debate, during the South African War.[516] The question of using Indian troops, long the muscle reserve of the British Army, alongside white was considered sensitive for South Africa. Steel wrote two letters to *The Times* supporting their use, disagreeing with Violet Markham. Markham, sensitive to the depth of feeling on the 'colour question' in South Africa, argued that Indian troops should not be used, emphasising the importance of future colour relations between white and black. Steel considered this an insult, asking 'Do we then mean to category our disciplined Indian troops with savages?' For Steel, this was a question of how India was considered alongside other colonies in the empire and more broadly, how they figured in British conceptions and hierarchies. There was no doubt in her mind that 'our disciplined Indian troops' were far higher in the colonial hierarchy than the 'savages' of Africa, and should be afforded the respect 'to show that we acknowledge her equal right with our colonies to fight for the empire'.[517] Indian troops were evidently considered differently to the mass of the Indian population by Steel, they were disciplined, had been trained by the British, and were British led. In this context, Steel could be positive about Indian character because it served her purpose and argument, but this Indian character was crucially linked to British influence.

The differing characterisations of races, religions and peoples in India had a broader political motive for Steel and the British. The strong differences between north and south and the belief that 'Scotland is more like Spain than Bengal is like the Punjab' as John Strachey put it in his 1888 book, *India*, made the British the only unifying point in India.[518] The argument simply put was, 'India was not a nation, and the British were not really foreigners – at least not more so than the Subcontinent's other rulers.'[519] In her account of 1857 in her history, Steel writes

[516] Balasubramanyam Chandramohan, 'Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out'?: the South African War, Empire and India', in *The South African War reappraised* ed by Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University press, 2000), pp. 158-9. and David Omissi, 'India: Some Perceptions of Race and Empire' in *The Impact of the South African War,* ed by David Omissi and Andrew Thompson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 215-7

[517] Steel, Flora Annie. "Native Indian Troops and The War." *The Times*, 30 Nov. 1899, p. 13. & 19th Dec 1899, p. 7. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4wP7. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017; Markham, Violet R., "Native Indian Troops and The War." *The Times*, 9 Dec. 1899, p. 14. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4vY7. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017.

[518] John Strachey, *India* (London: K. Paul, Trench, 1888), p. 3.

[519] David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London: John Murray, 2005), p. 26.

that 'within twenty miles of Delhi' the '"Toorkh" – the bugbear of Indian rustic life - had appeared again.'[520] Individuals from one section of India would be foreign in another and particularly in the face of demands for Home Rule, this made the notion of India, as a unit, risible. In her autobiography Steel muses on the history of the states who had chosen Delhi as the capital, as the British Raj did in 1911, remarking on the 'ghost at every turn' in its history. But, writing in 1928-9, Steel saw Dominion Status as possible for India. She assumed that this would 'fade into the Independence of many States, for that India can ever exist as a homogenous entity appears to me impossible.'[521] Later, in noting the astounding persistence of India's 'immutability, its perfect stability', Steel is careful to clarify that her personal experience was confined to the 'Panjab', she had none 'of the life led by those who had been across the black water; I had none in regard to the home life of Bengal'.[522] These other places would naturally have strong differences. This recognition of variation across India is unsurprising and is still often remarked on today, but under the Raj it had an imperial and divisive purpose. For instance, J. R. Seeley, denying that India could ever be considered a homogenous entity, compared India to Europe in a lecture in 1883, as a 'mere geographic expression' rather than a nationality.[523] Ignoring the historical parallel which Seeley evoked, Chancellor Metternich speaking about an Italy which had since unified, any claim by the advocates of Indian Home Rule to represent India could then be dismissed 'as preposterous by most British officials'.[524] It is in its imperial uses as justification for the Empire as a unifying force and the reliance on regional differences in determining character that is at the root of its imperial force.

It was this long-perpetuated conceptual gulf between the colonisers and colonised over the actions and purpose of the imperial state which caused a representative of Congress to despair. Whilst visiting London in February 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru was persuaded to speak to members of both Houses of Parliament, in it he lamented the differing viewpoints of the Indians and the British. He argued that the premises on which they began, largely to do with the unity of India, were too far apart and there was an 'entirely different appreciation of India's past and present'.[525] Given the importance of culture and its history in determining the true nature and

[520] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 359.
[521] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 221.
[522] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 242.
[523] J. R. Seeley, 'Lecture VII: How We Govern India', *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 221. Strachey, *India*, p. 3.
[524] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, p. 188.
[525] Quoted in Wilson, *India Conquered*, p. 439. For Jawaharlal Nehru's conception of India's history, see *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi, India, Penguin Books, 2004 (originally published 1946))

character of the Indian peoples, Steel was deeply concerned throughout her twenty years in India to learn about Indian culture, but within the structures, and in support of, imperialism. As wife to a member of the Indian Civil Service, she was well aware of her position as she acted as the inspector of girls' schools. Vigilantly conscious of the British position in India she recalled in her autobiography again that she had 'helped the prestige of the British Raj, that wherever I had been, among whatever class of the Indian people, I had always, as it were, "gone down"'.[526] As an example of Mary Procida's argument of being 'Married to the Empire', both in knowledge and action, Steel was a stalwart. Her knowledge of India, often gathered from curiosity and a degree of affection was nevertheless knowledge with an application and purpose.[527] The efficient administration of empire had long demanded at least an attempt at greater knowledge of the colonised, in order to manage the relations between the British and those they colonised.

Steel concludes her history of Hindustan with the remark that she hopes that the 'English reader of this mere sketch of Indian History may be more qualified to judge' whether the government of India has improved since 1857.[528] Her history was a chance for readers to consider how the British were ruling India. Histories were an integral aspect of the exploration about the British purpose in India, as Bernard Cohn has contended, 'history in its broadest sense was a zone of debate over the ends of and means of their rulership in India'.[529] Steel used her history to call for a more autocratic, decisive way of ruling filled with the vitality that Indians supposedly naturally followed; the rule by imagination that filled her romantic perception of Indian history. This would be effective rule in keeping the peace, respecting Indian culture and history, whilst also bringing a certain amount of progress to India. But more than this, histories, as they had developed in the intellectual surroundings of nineteenth century Europe were imbued with historical meaning, it gave each people their own 'special path' and legitimated notions of superiority and inferiority.[530] Histories were seen as offering clues to the national character of every people, so the histories of India were revealing because they gave a narrative of the identities of the Indian people.

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[526] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 182.
[527] Mary Procida *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 45 & 50.
[528] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 361.
[529] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge; the British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 5.
[530] Stefan Berger, 'The Invention of European National traditions in European Romanticism', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4. 1800-1945* ed. by Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, Attila Pok (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 22.

Gender, Empire, and Indian History

As Antoinette Burton has shown, the feminist and suffrage movements in Britain had important Indian links throughout their histories.[531] One of the timeless truths and praiseworthy practices of India was in what Steel perceived to be the typically Indian form of womanhood, formed through their particular history. The 'best type of self-sacrificing, self-denying womanhood' was in India and was found in the ideal nature of Indian widows.[532] The lessons that British women could draw from the example of Indian women was something which Steel came back to frequently in many of her writings and was her favoured lesson from Indian society. Steel was deeply concerned with this question which was increasingly occupying British society, especially with the writings of Marie Corelli, from the 1890s onwards.[533] Women's place within marriage and the emphasis on duty and reproducing the race which she argued that Indian marriage especially propounded was something which chimed with Steel's own views of marriage. It contained lessons for what she perceived to be an increasingly selfish attitude to marriage in the West. Steel was conservative in gender relations although she supported suffrage strongly in writing and as part of the Women Writer's Suffrage League, this was not as a feminist. Steel was critical of the perceived frivolity of Western women, especially brides, and argued that they went into marriage 'as she would go to the theatre, expecting to be interested and amused'.[534] Steel was one of four contributors to Marie Corelli's 'The Modern Marriage Market' in 1898 in which she emphasised the more noble conception of marriage in India.[535] Similarly, she emphasised this approach in an article for *The Monthly Review* in 1906, which Steel earnestly exhorted her literary agent to place as 'it really is most important'. Steel argued that if Indian women were to descend on London in the same way that British mission ladies descended on Bombay, they would find 'quite as much… at which to hold up their holy hands of horror as we do'.[536] Strikingly, Steel displays some aspects, albeit transfigured for her

[531] Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994)
[532] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p. 176.
[533] Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, pp. 808-10
[534] Menpes and Steel, *India*, pp. 164-5
[535] Marie Corelli, Lady Jeune, Flora Annie Steel, Countess of Malmesbury, *The Modern Marriage Market* (London: Hutchinson & Co. 1898), pp. 97-135
[536] Flora Annie Steel - William Morris Colles, Received 7th March, 1906, 297/194 Author's syndicate, Ltd collection, Harry Ransom Research Centre, The University of Texas at Austin. Flora Annie Steel, 'Marriage in the East and the West', *The Monthly review*; Apr 1906; 23, 67; British Periodicals, p. 114

own purposes, of Priyamvada Gopal's argument concerning the reversal of the direction of tutelage.[537] Steel wanted the British to consider and learn from Indians.

Steel's argument linked to the defined gender roles that she saw, accepted and supported. As a conservative supporter of suffrage, Steel linked women's position and right to a voice to the duties and sacrifices women made. Steel was a conservative supporter of suffrage, part of the 'underestimated' conservatism the women's movement.[538] There was a considerable body of women who supported suffrage from an early stage but did not agree with what they considered radical ideas of the movement. The conservatism of suffrage aims is notable in this respect and they were defined through a masculine public sphere, and a discourse which wished to preserve the stability of marriage and enhance it through the separate expertise of men and women.[539] As Sheila Rowbotham has argued, 'the majority of women joined suffrage organisations not to transform gender relations, or society as a whole, but to conserve women's sphere.'[540] Women had their separate viewpoint, their own gendered talents and these should no longer be excluded. Using these ideas, Steel countered those who denigrated women's claim to suffrage by arguing that people forget that 'women defend their country by creating it? Their natural task of child-bearing places them in the first fighting line.' Steel flipped the argument about sex-disability and focused on sex-ability, that is the pain and trials that women went through in childbirth and compared them to men's military service.[541] Worthiness for participating in the body politic was linked to the sacrifices made for the nation.

Eastern marriage was presented as a 'duty to the unborn' which because of the self-abnegation inherent in it, 'lies altogether on a higher plane' than Western conceptions of marriage.[542] These ideals of duty and self-sacrifice for the race, were what Steel saw as the superiority of the Eastern conception of women, even at its worst. The Western woman had much to learn from the Indian sense of duty, 'even the purdah is preferable to the titter of the Tam-o-Shanter girl'.[543] Nevertheless through all her concern about female morality lurked her basic reason for interest, how to best rule India. Steel, writing in articles in Britain, gave great importance to female

[537] Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London: Verso, 2019), p. 52.
[538] Martin Pugh, *The March of Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 4.
[539] Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Gender, and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 41.
[540] Sheila Rowbotham, *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States* (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 16.
[541] "Woman's Suffrage", *The Times*, 17th April, 1907.
[542] Steel, 'Marriage in the East', pp. 112-3
[543] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 165.

influence on society as a whole, considering men, and particularly Indian men, to be 'the most henpecked in the world'.[544] This female influence, which was 'a greater power in the land than they used to be' could be beneficial or damaging to the British, but, she argued, it was at present 'almost invariably antagonistic to our rule'.[545] This was something which had to be solved for British power in India. In Steel's view, 'it is between the women of England and the women of India that the solution of the problem 'how to rule and be ruled' lies. The one great unalterable split between East and West is in their relative ideals of Perfect Womanhood.'[546]

Despite this idealisation of Indian marriage, Steel was deeply fearful of female sexuality in India. The influence that Indian women, through their subversive and prominent sexuality, had over men was a recurring theme and became in *On the Face of the Waters*, the triggering event for the rebellion. The taunts of the prostitutes in the bazaar are, after Steel has reviewed and downplayed other possible causes, the final goad. She introduced the violence of the Indian Rebellion saying there was, 'no consideration of caste or religion, patriotism or ambition. Only a taunt from a pair of painted lips.'[547] Female influence, in all races, although some were more susceptible to manipulation than others, has a catastrophic effect when practised upon a mob comprised of those whom she considers having very little grasp upon reason. In most of her fiction, it is women who are the primary motive force, either actively manipulating men or the emotional reason that men act. For instance, in *Voices in the Night* the hero, Jack Raymond explains to the new arrival, Lesley Drummond the importance of women and children to Anglo-India, especially as a legacy of 1857, 'everyone knows that the strength of the strongest man is water before the ghost of a mother and child'.[548] For Steel, the extremes that emotions such as love bring people to were to be feared and avoided for stripping people of their reason rather than lauded. The powerlessness of rational men in the face of the influences of women led them astray. This was a common theme in the British fiction of India which was present in much of Kipling and Anglo-Indian women writing in India. The British in India were often even more conscious of the proprieties of sexual morality and the temptations of women than their counterparts in Britain.

[544] Steel, 'Marriage in East', p. 116.
[545] Flora Annie Steel, 'An Indian Jubilee', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*; Nov 7, 1908, British Periodicals, p. 571.
[546] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 203.
[547] Jennifer L. Otsuki, 'The memsahib and the ends of empire: feminine desire in Flora Annie Steel's 'On the Face of the Waters', *Victorian Literature and Culture* (1996), 24:2, p. 7; Steel, *Face of the Waters*, p. 191.
[548] Flora Annie Steel, *Voices in the Nights: A Chromatic Fantasia* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), p. 63.

But influential Indian women were not always inherently destructive in Steel's writings. In her history, the seventeenth century Mughal Emperor Jahangir shares a chapter with his wife, Nurjahan, whose influence on her drunken and degenerate husband, was lamentable. But Steel was unable to stop admiration creeping in. Similarly, in the final instalment of her trilogy on the Mughals, *The Mistress of Men*, Nurjahan rules India through her incompetent husband. In the preface to this novel, Nurjahan whom she is attempting to rescue from historical contempt, was praised for her 'extraordinary personality and power'.[549] Nurjahan was 'clever beyond compare, contriving and scheming, plotting, planning, shielding and saving' for Jahangir.[550] Steel seems to show sympathy for a figure, who although her influence was indicative of an Indian society ruled over by a 'man hidden in the pampered, drink-sodden carcase of the King', improved governance. Steel was careful to defend Nurjahan from those who attributed her influence to her own personal ambition arguing that there is 'nothing to warrant this assertion'. Her appointments were nepotistic as Steel admits, but they were 'wise and just' and Jahangir himself was temporarily reformed by marriage becoming 'for a time, quite a decent and respectable monarch'.[551] If Steel had wished to, Nurjahan could have been a classic, Lady Macbeth style figure. Instead, increasingly concerned as Steel was at the time with suffrage in Britain, Nurjahan became a schemer, but one who schemed rationally and constructively because of her position and husband, to aid the Mughal Empire. Crucially, Nurjahan is congratulated most sincerely by Steel, and pardoned her scheming, for 'one touch of grand-motherhood' when her infant was wounded in battle with Nurjahan, atop an elephant which was carried away by the river, instead of looking after herself, is binding the baby's wounds. Nurjahan's 'fine, feminine wiles' are presented and excused with sympathy and even a modicum of praise in Steel's rendition as having a good effect on government, but the applause is confined to her actions as a loving mother.[552] This is Steel's ideal of universal womanhood, a recommendation for the West, directly linked to child-bearing and directed towards maintaining good government in the great era of Mughal Emperors.

This focus on the ideals of womanhood, and the questions Steel asks and offers answers to concerning Indian marriage, raises the idea of Antoinette Burton's Imperial Sisterhood.[553] The idea of raising fellow women around the empire was one that Steel approached from an

[549] Steel, *Mistress of Men (Preface)*, p. vii.
[550] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, p. 195.
[551] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 194-5
[552] Steel, *Popular and Picturesque*, pp. 198-9.
[553] Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), p. 195.

intensely imperial and race-conscious standpoint; empire came before gender. But it was not that clear cut in many cases, the two could be linked in many ways. Steel's emphasis on duty and responsibility was a prominent part of her thought on gender and empire. Suffrage was a right that had been earned through women's responsibility and actions, often in the empire and Steel was scathing about the frivolity of British women who did not live up to their imperial responsibility. Many of her novels use the motif of the irresponsible 'Station-Lady', such as Alice Gissing in *On the Face of the Waters,* whose reform has to be a part of the imperial mission.[554] Conversely, in her non-fiction, the colonised women of India deserved special attention, not because she was concerned with their oppression, but because she considered them the real power in all except trivial matters and their power could be harnessed in favour of the empire. Indian men were, according to Steel, 'the most henpecked in the world', a phrase which recurs almost verbatim three times across her non-fiction writings across thirteen years.[555] Female influence was key to British rule and the opposition to it.

At the international congress of women in 1899, Steel appeared to conform to this ideal of international responsibility from the imperial state. Delegates spoke for the women of many different countries. Steel spoke for India at the conference, alongside 'Miss Marie Bhor, a Parsee lady now studying at Oxford, and several other Indian ladies in native dress', seeing no irony in being a white woman speaking for India next to silent Indian ones. In her address, she, representing the women of India, 'reach out my hands to the women of the setting sun, knowing that by doing so I shall consolidate that vast Indian Empire.'[556] There is undoubtedly an element of the international and imperial sense of sisterhood in Steel's address, but taken with her other writings, it is clear that Steel was more inclined to co-operation in a different way. Reform, in Steel's telling, had to come from a need within the Indian community itself. Recounting western attempts to abolish purdah, Steel argued that the Zenana missions and doctors who willingly go to women in seclusion were responsible for perpetuating it. Rather, 'pain is nature's greatest fulcrum, and I firmly believe that but for our well-meant efforts to make seclusion more bearable, India would by now be half free of the curse of purdah.'[557] Purdah was pernicious in Steel's thinking because the women of India were removed from any outside

[554] Steel, *Face of the Waters,* p. 5.
[555] Steel, *India,* p. 164. See also Steel, "The Indo-British Association." *The Times,* 9 Aug. 1918, p. 13. The Times Digital Archive, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5D4dg2. Accessed 20 Sept. 2017; Steel, 'Marriage in East and in the West', *The Monthly review*; Apr 1906; 23, 67; British Periodicals pg. 104 - 119
[556] Isabel Gordon, the Marchioness of Aberdeen, *The International Congress of women, 1899* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1900), pp. 71-2
[557] Steel, *Garden of Fidelity,* p. 245.

contact and this had a terrible effect on their character, leading to a fascination with sex.[558] Steel was also concerned about the influence of Indian women on their husbands' away from the watchful eye of the British, especially when the proverbial 'Bob Acre's courage is stable in comparison to theirs'.[559] Here we see the exception to Steel's support for the separate spheres. She was not interested in the Zenana as an area of 'separate sphere' feminism, as Janaki Nair argues, despite celebrating the nobility of the ideals of Indian womanhood.[560] Rather she wished to allow it to be destroyed by the 'fulcrum of pain', removing the artificial maintenance that she argued western doctors were maintaining.[561] This is in keeping with the limits of Steel's fascination and respect for Indian cultures, when it could be seen as vaguely threatening to the British presence, sympathy ended and reform had to take place. The imperial cause was the primary factor in Steel's thinking. British women in India had duties and responsibilities to live up to and to perform their role. Steel does not talk about reforming or westernising Indian women, the only conception of 'Imperial Sisterhood', is that it is a partnership to maintain the British Indian Empire.

This emphasis on the imperial link of suffrage within the context of maintaining the empire matches well with her stance on gender at the turn of the twentieth century more generally. The rhetoric around 'separate spheres' which governed so much of the debate around women at the beginning of the twentieth century could be turned on its head. Rather than seeing women's separate sphere and the unique talents their gender supposedly gave them as a reason for them not to be involved in the politics of imperialism, it could be used to support their involvement. The cause of female suffrage was one Steel easily reconciled with her imperialism, it was linked to duty and a responsibility that women had proven themselves worthy of and this was firmly attached to the place of gender roles in society.

Conclusion

Understandings of history constructed a certain idea of India and its place in the British imagination. Both for Indian nationalists and British Imperialists, the place of India's past and its present state were powerful political tools providing narratives for India's governance. Steel

[558] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 166.
[559] Menpes and Steel, *India*, p. 164.
[560] Janaki Nair, 'Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in Englishwomen's writings, 1813-1940' in *Cultures of Empire: A Reader*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 234.
[561] Mrs. F. A. Steel East, 'Indian Women', *The North American Review*, Vol. 169, No. 517 (Dec, 1899), p. 851.

articulated one aspect of this narrative as she wrote widely about India, but the tension for the empire that she supported and the romantic India, which she knew it to be destroying, created an ambivalence in her work. Viewed and considered as a life intimately connected with imperialism and its practice in India, Flora Annie Steel appears as a figure enthusiastic about the mission but fascinated by the culture: a not uncommon combination in India. But Steel's fascination with Indian culture was uncommon amongst the memsahibs in India. She rejected the circumscribed solely English society and endeavoured to learn more about the culture around her. Nevertheless, Steel incorporated imperialism as an integral, if largely unanalysed, section of her worldview. Confined by her experience and professed expertise to the Indian Empire, for Steel, that empire was largely self-justificatory. It may have been gained in bloodshed and force as she admits in her history, but its established fact was the only bulwark against anarchy and inter-communal violence.

Steel's imperialism was a reflexive aspect of her worldview with profound implications for other areas of her life such as her conception of gender relations. The empire in India was a noble thing in a land redolent with romance, chivalrous history and mystery. Empire in India was also, more prosaically, the land in which she established her adult life, free from the constraints that were ever-present in Britain. Steel grew to be fascinated with something that she devoted most of her life to presenting and bringing to the imagination of the British public. Time and distance tarnished her affection for the country and its customs. As opposition to British rule intensified, Steel, away from the country for decades, fell back on conservative stereotypes of Indians. These harsher views were more extreme versions of what she had long considered, heightened by a feeling of threat to a community in India which she still identified with strongly. In non-fiction from histories to journalism, neglected works from her output, this chapter has demonstrated how Steel promoted knowledge of British India in Britain. Through her novels as well as more elite sources such as her letters to *The Times* and her non-fiction work, Steel spoke to an imperially connected elite which was debating how to maintain India within the British Empire. These writings pushed a view of India as romantic and 'other' in need of firm and fair governance, but they also tried to communicate a deeply held interest in India to British elites.

HENRY RIDER HAGGARD AND 'PRIMITIVE VIRTUES': THE LAND AND MASCULINE VISIONS OF EMPIRE[562]

Henry Rider Haggard often felt that the true morals of his work and contributions to Britain were misrepresented. Replying to a letter from an unknown correspondent concerning one of his books he wrote that 'the moral must remain for his private delectation & that of a few others only […] many of us are reviewed according to fashion and set formula, & I perhaps more than most.'[563] Although author's grumbles about reviewers are not infrequent, Haggard, despite, or perhaps because of, being one of the most successful novelists of the late nineteenth century, often felt misrepresented. Celebrated for his adventure fiction and romances, Haggard felt more strongly, especially after the 1890s, about campaigning for land reform and stemming the flight from the land. Haggard saw the cure for the dispiriting effect of the cities on the health and spirit of the British race in the expanses of empire. Empire, and his experiences and reimagining of it, cemented Haggard's belief in adventure's testing and uplifting power. It is appropriate then that he lived his life in and imagined his own area for adventure, the British Empire. From his early post as Sir Henry Bulwer's aide in South Africa at the age of nineteen during the late 1870s, to the imperial settings of his much-discussed adventure novels and to what Haggard considered his far more important work with agriculture and colonial settlement; Henry Rider Haggard's life had an imperial setting. Popular conceptions of the British Empire in Africa and the air of boyish adventure with which it is often associated owe much to Rider Haggard as subsequent historians have acknowledged.[564] It is the lands and people of or just beyond empire, that Haggard romanticised. The lure of living more simply, closer to the land, and away from the unhealthy and demoralising cities was a key component of these novels. This was the theme which he campaigned for in numerous books and on many committees from 1900 onwards.[565]

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[562] 'THE YELLOW PERIL' *The Times of India*, May 2, 1905, p. 6

[563] Norfolk Record Office, MS 4694/31/1-28

[564] Patrick A. Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 24 No.1, (Autumn, 1980), pp. 105-121; Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991)

[565] The volume of his writing alone gives an idea of the importance that he attached to this. Henry Rider Haggard, *A Gardener's Year* (London: Longmans Green, 1898*). A Farmer's Year (1899), Rural England, The Poor and the Land, Regeneration, Rural Denmark, The After-War Settlement & Employment of Ex-Service Men in the Overseas Dominions: A Pamphlet for the Royal Colonial Institute* (London: Royal Colonial Institute, 1916). He also served on the committee for Coastal Erosion and Afforestation 1905-1911.*The Private Diaries of Sir Henry Rider Haggard 1914-1925* ed. by Sidney Higgins (London: Cassell, 1980), the newspaper reports of his work, and the letter exchanges in newspapers which he engaged with.

Ways of living on the land and an enduring connection to it was the key to the greatness of the British Empire, the continuation of which he often doubted.[566]

This chapter examines how Haggard expounded his imperial ideas around the ideal imperial type, living close to the land, and masculinity. It will particularly focus on the non-fiction works which Haggard produced, mostly after 1900, concerning rural questions and overseas settlement both for soldiers after the First World War and others. Not as well-known, either then or now for this late writing it was, nevertheless, considerable. Themes such as a connection to the land, moving away from cities, testing oneself on the frontier and against nature, the strength of character needed to survive, echo and contextualise many of Haggard's novels. Haggard was linked with the Unionist cause, for which he stood for Parliament in a bruising experience in 1895, because of this belief in the rural. But he became disillusioned with party politics due to the emphasis on protection, rather than as he saw it, more ambitious forms of aiding agriculture in Britain and the empire.[567] Placing Haggard's work within the context of Tariff Reform, which mostly he did not support, other calls for imperial emigration, and arguments about land reform; this chapter attempts to show how ideas of character, attachment to the land and masculinity were central to notions of imperialism. The first section focuses on the affinity of Haggard's belief in the English as a race of 'Adventurers' and what this said about their place in the empire. It then continues onto the link between living on the land and the strength and 'primitive virtues' of empire. This is then placed within contemporary notions of the virtues of living on the land, the state of agriculture, and how they fitted into the imperial state.

Haggard's most popular novels such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), *She* (1887) and *Allan Quatermain* (1888) have often been dissected.[568] Scholars have read numerous imperial themes in Haggard's thought and, given their popularity, a considerable proportion of the British population at the time. The genre of adventure stories was burgeoning in the 1880s with the appearance of *Treasure Island* and *King Solomon's Mines*. This genre often had an imperial setting, a racialised code of virtue, and a set of values which they bolstered for their often-adolescent readers. Adventure became a wish-fulfilment genre bringing the hero through

[566] For one instance among many, quoted more below, see Haggard's letter to Theodore Roosevelt, 14th July 1912. Norfolk Record Office, MC 32/45.
[567] Henry Rider Haggard, *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in the years 1901 & 1902. Vol. I*. (London: Longmans Green, 1906), p. x.
[568] Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.18

struggle to victory in an idealised exciting utopian world of good rewarded and evil condemned.[569] These adventure stories, for those still in Britain, were 'fantasies about the relations of metropolitan and imperial space', an alternative space to long for and imagine, especially for the growing middle and professional classes.[570] These adventure themes have been used by Patrick Brantlinger and Anne McClintock to investigate the constructions of a dark Africa.[571] In these criticisms, Haggard was an imperial apologist, filled with sexual imagery concerning the rape of Africa and using isolated indigenous characters, such as Umslopogaas, to promote the imperial way. Brantlinger characterises this as the 'imperial Gothic', linking interest in the occult as well as the 'seemingly scientific, progressive, often Darwinian ideology of imperialism' as a response to the anxieties of imperial Britain at the close of the nineteenth century. Others, such as Gerald Monsman, now strongly in the minority, have instead discovered in these same novels instead an appreciation of the frontier, an attempt to honestly depict amaZulu life and a deep ambivalence about imperialism.[572] But there are many who do not see Haggard as quite the imperial enthusiast that he is sometimes depicted. Laura Chrisman has emphasised instead Haggard's fear and anxieties about modernisation, particularly in his fascination with indigenous culture. Chrisman argues that his novels reveal instead the 'discontinuities between imperial-metropolitan and settler-colonial interest and ideologies.'[573] These novels, and others like them grouped as 'adventure fiction', such as those by G. A. Henty and W.G. Stables, have been judged to be significant because they were, as Martin Green has put it, 'the story England told itself as it went to sleep at night'.[574] This is overstating the readership and significance of these novels, but their popularity and the prominence of the 'boys' stories genre, was significant. Haggard, although he was part of this genre, also wrote more widely and remained prominent for far longer than the endless dissection of his three canonical novels might indicate.[575]

From the 1890s Haggard increasingly devoted his energy to changing perceptions of himself as nothing more than an adventure writer. 'It is a hard thing in the first place to live down the

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[569] Bristow, *Empire Boys*, pp. 1-3. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, pp. 53-4.
[570] Nicholas Daly, *Modernism, Romance and the Fin de Siecle: Popular Fiction and British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 53
[571] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 227; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1-4.
[572] Gerald Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier* (Greensboro: ELT Press, 2006), p. 1.
[573] Laura Chrisman, *Postcolonial Contraventions: Cultural Readings of Race, Imperialism and Transnationalism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 46-7.
[574] Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 3.
[575] Rider Haggard's subsequent work on agriculture is partly dealt with in Paul Readman's, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of the Land, 1880-1914* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 2008) but this aspect of his life has received far less attention from many scholars.

reputation of being a writer of fiction' he noted in a speech in Ottawa in 1905, he had to push hard for them to remember that most people have minds that have 'two sides' but he was pleased that 'I have not done much. Yet I have done something. They listen to me now a bit.'[576] But, taking a decided political stance did affect Haggard's standing in public, with his readers, and in literary circles. As Philip Waller puts it, 'Rider Haggard was a case of an author holding and developing strongly considered political and social opinions, which increasingly marginalised him like a Cassandra.'[577] This marginalisation can be detected as Haggard was sidelined by Lloyd George into Royal Commissions, removing him from active lobbying of the government. This is not to say that Haggard was ignored, but that the government's priorities rarely lined up with his until the immediate postwar years when assisted emigration for service personnel became a political reality.

This work closely connected him with government circles and especially those with an interest in the empire. Haggard served on the Commissions for overseas settlement, both for the Royal Colonial Institute in 1916 and the earlier Royal Commission. This linked him and his ideas with others who were interested in promoting and cementing the links of the British Empire such as Lord Curzon and Lord D'Abernon.[578] Haggard's work, concerned as it was with a belief in the land and tying the empire together places him within in a discourse deeply worried about racial degeneration and the effects of city living. His work, and the poor physical condition of many recruits for the Boer War, focussed many minds, particularly in Conservative and Unionist circles, on the conditions of living as a way of staving off British degeneration.[579] Arguments concerning the link between the land and character were malleable and could be pro and anti-imperial. Land reformers could emphasise the domestic side of land reclamation and keeping the British races strong and healthy with little reference to the empire.[580] Nevertheless, the imperial connotations, which were commonly drawn, equated the empty lands of the settler colonies, the overcrowding of England and the imperial frontier. The avid imperialist Lord Milner, lending his authority to Christopher Turnor's book on Land reform and the national will argued in 1911, that working on the land was 'key to the

[576] Lilias Rider Haggard, *The Cloak that I Left: A Biography of the Author, Henry Rider Haggard* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951), p. 214
[577] Waller, *Writers, Readers, Reputations*, p. 912.
[578] See *After-War Settlement* Pamphlet 1916. Lord Curzon gave the farewell speech for the commission (Appendix A) and Lord D'Abernon was the chairman of the RCI commission
[579] This scare was widely noted and led to a parliamentary Committee on Physical degeneration, see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1904, vol. 32.
[580] Readman, *Land and Nation*, p. 75.

maintenance of a healthy, vigorous and moral race'.[581] Turnor went on to write a follow up to this in 1917, *The Land and the Empire*, in which he lamented the 'unpeopled and undeveloped land in our Overseas Dominions' as a 'source of great weakness from the point of view of defence.'[582] Working on the land made for healthier people, which in turn made for workers for the imperial good in the eyes of enthusiastic imperialists in Britain.

The Empire, and the frontier, would test and improve the mettle of the English race, bringing them to a greater pitch than ever. As the work of Stefan Collini and Peter Cain has shown, considerations of character were crucial in an imperial context.[583] There has long been a keen awareness that there was a strong and pervasive mid-Victorian notion of 'character.' Less work has been done on precisely how this notion of character shifted in the later nineteenth century and in the empire. Collini has observed that the language of character in the empire 'was the stuff of which many an Edwardian prize-day address was made', especially as a prized set of virtues which made up this hallowed character. Teamwork, self-reliance in extremis, concentration and courage, obedience and leadership were 'presented as unproblematically compatible.'[584] This language of Empire was built up steadily as the era of New Imperialism progressed from the 1880s onwards. J.H. Grainger quotes Lord Rosebery declaring in 1902 that it is 'the boast of the British Empire that it rests on men' rather than armies or constitutions in elaborating how the structure of the empire demanded certain patriotisms from its officers.[585] The empire moulded men into higher character as well as demanding it from the outset. Kathryn Tidrick has explored notions of imperial character, calling it the 'sanctification of the traditional aristocratic claim to 'leadership''.[586] This captures some of the self-confidence and notions of leadership amongst the British in the empire, although this was increasingly extended downwards in terms of class. The link of character and the right of England to be an imperial race was an historically defined myth in the Barthesian sense, creating an obvious

[581] Introduction to Christopher Turnor, *Land Problems and National Welfare* (London: The Bodley Head, 1911), pp. vi-viii. Quoted in Alun Hawkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England' in *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*, ed by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd, 1986), pp. 67-8.
[582] Christopher Turnor, *The Land and the Empire* (London: J. Murray, 1917), p. 76
[583] Stefan Collini, 'The Idea of 'Character in Victorian Political Thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 29-50. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Thought Life in Britain, 1850-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), esp. Ch.3, pp. 91-120. Peter J. Cain, 'Character, Ordered Liberty and the Mission to Civilise: British moral justification of Empire, 1870-1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 40:4* (2012), pp. 557-578. Peter J. Cain, 'Empire and the Languages of Character and Virtue in Later Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Modern Intellectual history*, 4, 2, (2007), pp. 249-273
[584] Collini, 'The Idea of 'Character', p. 49.
[585] J.H. Grainger, *Patriotisms: Britain, 1900-1939* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 134.
[586] Kathryn Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character* (London: IB Tauris, 1990), p. 4.

'truth.' Ideology becomes myth in a process which 'transforms history into nature'; the imperial nature of the English was determined by the character of their history.[587] Political arguments are transformed into something easier to understand and support, something 'innocent' and 'natural'. Cain has argued that these 'languages of character and virtue' were a cardinal aspect of the ideology of the 'ultra-imperialists'.[588] This was the 'moral force that the imperialists from Munro to Curzon were sure was behind imperial success', but it had changed from the Trollopian notion of the gentleman, especially in an imperial setting.[589] This has led some such as Bradley Deane to posit a notion of the 'Imperial Barbarian' as New Imperialism's version of good character, subverting the received notion.[590]

Nevertheless, imperialists did not have a monopoly on the conception of character and its link to the land. Many critics of empire such as Frederic Harrison and Edward Beesly, accused its militarism of distorting society and tarnishing the character of freeborn Britons.[591] The focus on the independent 'Yeoman' as the backbone of the country, and one which had vanished at some politically charged point in British history was a staple argument. J. L. Hammond dated this, in a work which was later to become very influential, to the closing decades of the eighteenth century, as the squires stifled the civic spirit of the country.[592] This was an argument about access to the land approached from the opposite end of the political spectrum to Haggard, but which similarly prized the independent spirit of the yeoman on the land as an integral aspect of British identity. The identity of the yeomanry in provincial Britain was also symbolised during the South African War with the formation of the rural Imperial Yeomanry, as opposed to the City Imperial Volunteers.[593] The debate around the English, and it tended to be a very English argument, was suffused with local nationalism. As such, the arguments which Haggard and others put forward, for the link to the land across the empire, was liable to come under fire

[587] Robert H. Macdonald, The *Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 5. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Hill & Wang, 1973), pp. 129-30
[588] Cain, 'Empire and the Languages of Character', p. 249.
[589] Cain, 'Character, Ordered Liberty and the Mission', p. 559.
[590] Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Barbarians: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), pp. 205-225; Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2014)
[591] Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 88-90. The fear about militarism tarnishing society often took Germany as its example, especially in the internationally competitive air of Edwardian Britain. Also see Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial challenge* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), p. 139
[592] J. L. Hammond, *Charles James Fox: A Political Study* (London: Methuen & Co. 1903) See Stefan Collini, *Common Writing: Essays on Literary Culture and Public Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 181-190 for the Hammonds' role as 'Moralists' in this debate.
[593] Brad Beaven, *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 77.

from both left and right, for abandoning the historical place of the yeoman in England. To combat this an emphasis was placed on the settler colonies as wider Englands, a Greater Britain, not necessarily as a political project, but as a community of association and blood.[594] Attempting to dispute the concern about the abandonment of England with imperial associations of Englishness, Haggard was free to focus on the question of the link between life on the land and rugged, primitive virtues.[595]

In Haggard's writing, and for many of those imperial writers concerned to maintain Britain's place at the imperial apogee before the First World War, this interest in imperial identity was suffused with anxiety. Haggard was forwarding a harsher form of character for the empire than the one commonly prized in Britain. Haggard was more focused on 'adventure', rural, independent life, and the virtues of the primitive. If the degenerating and seemingly ever-increasing power of the city could not be stemmed, the energetic adventuring of the English people, that which had built them their empire, would diminish. There was also a strong link in the imperialist mindset between the decline in character and moral and physical health and the rise in socialist and democratic radicalism at the turn of the century. The conservatism of rural communities was relied upon, intertwined with notions of conservative English character.[596] Without this emigration Haggard and some imperially minded contemporaries argued, Britain would lose its pre-eminent position on the world stage. Thus, from the 1870s, the argument developed that a new, sharper character was needed to revitalise the British as a ruling race and Anne Summers has noted the militarism through which many attempted to 'regenerate' that civil society.[597] Haggard's ideas and those of others writing in and about the empire at the turn of the century, especially concerning the ideal character of the Briton in the empire, have been characterised, by Bradley Deane as a belief and adoration of the concept of imperial barbarians. The Briton on the imperial frontier had to display some, if not all, of the qualities of the 'barbarians' whose land and lost world the adventurer he was attempting to discover and (usually) control. This is what Deane terms, 'the apparent paradox of an imperialism that embraces the primitive' in reconciling the notions of a civilising mission with the celebration of brutality and simple barbaric directness by those with imperial power such

[594] Duncan Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 92-119; *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 166-181
[595] Readman, *Land and Nation*, p. 82. Also see Haggard's debate with Jesse Collings, discussed below.
[596] Bell, *Reordering the World*, pp. 167-8.
[597] Anne Summers, 'Edwardian Militarism' in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, ed. by Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 243.

as Cecil Rhodes.[598] The themes here of masculinity, character, and simple, barbaric directness can also be seen in much of Haggard's non-fiction works.

But this link of the idea of the primitive barbarity of the ideal man of empire is still strongly tied to a more conventional area of Haggard criticism. The critique of Haggard's novels as boys' adventure stories, meant to instil a spirit of adventure, character, and imperial willingness is a recurring one.[599] The glorification of adventure and its man-making effects was a key aspect of Haggard's novels and could be expected to contrast with the domesticity he advocated for later imperial settlers. Haggard was, in later life, to become a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt during his visits to America, believing he had found a mind of a similar mould.[600] Nevertheless, the independence and notion of rugged individualism, which these novels of adventure evoked was often applied to the notion of settling on the land across the empire. A form of rugged individualism was a strong part of how Haggard conceived of and presented imperial masculinity. It has often been noted that women in adventure novels such as Rider Haggard's struggled to find a convincing place within the male schema of empire.[601] Women in these novels are usually a threat to the adventurous male, endangering him either physically or morally. The warnings sounded for this purpose in fiction are softened when we turn to non-fiction. But these warnings often morph into a representation of women as homesteaders and conventional nods to women's role, usually linked to the birth-rate.[602] Haggard was convinced that the maintenance of a high birth-rate and the population of the settler colonies with white emigrants was essential to the future security of the empire.

The consideration of 'imperial barbarians' and the character of imperialists on the frontier also allows us to explore how Haggard approached racial questions. He considered the civilisation of the West to be 'savagery silver-gilt', although still undoubtedly superior to the cultures of South Africa which he encountered.[603] Nevertheless, Haggard deeply admired amaZulu culture, the notions of bravery and indeed savagery which it evoked and in many ways, many of his novels can be seen as him reimagining and reliving his experiences in South Africa. Few of his non-fiction works, at least published ones, relate directly to the questions of race in the empire,

[598] Deane, 'Imperial Barbarians', p. 205.
[599] Wendy Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire: A Critical Study of British Imperial Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
[600] Norfolk Record Office, Roosevelt Letter 14th July 1912 MC 32/45
[601] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, p. 2.
[602] *Problems of Population and Parenthood [Being the Second Report of and the chief evidence taken by the Nation Birth-Rate Commission, 1918-1920]* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1920), pp. 256-268.
[603] Henry Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain* (London: Aegypan Press, 2006), p. 10.

concerned as he was to represent living on the land as a noble end in itself, whether in Britain, South Africa or Canada. But there are many reflections on this question in the diary which Haggard kept on his return to South Africa in 1914 where he struggles to reconcile his support for settlement with the taking of African land.[604]

A writer who imagined and one who tried to influence the continuing shape of the empire through non-fiction works, Rider Haggard was deeply committed to imperialism. Nevertheless, the variety and seeming contradictions of his views can be revealing of how the empire was imagined and presented by those convinced, as many were, that the future of the empire necessitated tying the settler empire closer together.

Henry Rider Haggard, Adventure, and Primitive Virtues

For Rider Haggard, the empire called for a certain type of man to uphold its authority, to strive ever onwards, to preserve the English race and to hold the frontier. The place of 'character' within the British Empire has been more often acknowledged than examined. For Haggard, this was not the 'character' diagnosed by Stefan Collini in domestic Britain. Instead, Empire seems to conjure a certain set of characteristics, adventurous, tough, patriotic, and willing to physically defend oneself. The centrality of these 'primitive virtues' especially was linked in Haggard's imagination with the manner of living. A commonplace observation across the political spectrum during the 1880s and 90s as the 'discovery' of poverty especially in the unsanitary cities, was 'underscored' by the revelations of the health of recruits during the Boer War.[605] Haggard took this separation between the healthy rural and the unhealthy urban and accentuated it. The land bred healthy individuals, in body and mind, whereas urban degeneration, even in the empire although Haggard was inclined to gloss over this, was corrupting the English race.

The best-known novels of Rider Haggard exemplify the ideal imperial type: rugged, adventurous, and scornful of comfort. These types drew extensively on his African experiences, and as Andrew Griffiths has argued, drew on a realism linked to the sensational reporting of special correspondents and the New Journalism.[606] Haggard was strongly opposed to realism

[604] Henry Rider Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey (1914), ed. by Stephen Coan* (London: Hurst & Co., 2001), p. 184.
[605] E. H. H. Green, 'An Age of Transition: An Introductory Essay' in *An Age of Transition: British Politics, 1880-1914*, ed by E. H. H. Green (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 8- 9.
[606] Griffiths, *The New Journalism*, p. 9

in writing which he argued degraded public morals. Adventure, and his writings do fall into this genre as well as early fantasy writing and 'Romance' as he and many contemporaries termed it, was a genre which inculcated imperial virtues.[607] In *Allan Quatermain,* the eponymous title character, one of the public's favourites whom Haggard provided with four different outings, reflects on what Englishmen are.

> Adventurers to the backbone and all our magnificent muster-roll of colonies, each of which will in time become a great nation, testify to the extraordinary value of the spirit of adventure which at first sight looks like a mild form of lunacy. "Adventurer" – he that goes out to meet whatever may come. Well, that is what we all do in the world one way or another, and, speaking for myself, I am proud of the title, because it implies a brave heart and a trust in Providence. Besides, when many and many a noted Croesus, at whose feet the people worship, and many a time-serving and word-coining politician are forgotten, the names of those grand-hearted old adventurers who have made England what she is, will be remembered and taught with love and pride to little children whose unshaped spirits yet slumber in the womb of centuries to be.[608]

This celebration of adventure was not meant to have connotations of irresponsibility despite the apparent 'lunacy'. Quatermain is intending something grander by 'Adventurer', which he presents it as the manliest of virtues, a Tennysonian form of striving, seeking, and refusing to yield. 'Adventurer' represented grit: 'he that goes out to meet whatever may come'. This is the strength of character which is fostered by the area for adventure which the empire offers. This reflection was intended to place Haggard's character in the company of 'those grand-hearted old adventurers who have made England what she is', whom he is reminiscing about. They and, by extension he, will 'be remembered and taught with love and pride to little children whose unshaped spirits yet slumber in the womb of centuries to be.' Rather than a celebration of modernity, British technological prowess or intellect, Haggard was contending that it is the spirit of adventure that will be remembered. Adventure was the British core virtue, whilst capitalists and politicians will be forgotten.

This adventure story and others like it were widely published and very popular in Britain, particularly amongst boys and adolescents at the end of the nineteenth century. The difference of 'New Imperialism' from its mid-Victorian predecessor has often been noted and historians

[607] Henry Rider Haggard, 'About Fiction', *Contemporary Review*, 51 (February 1887)
[608] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p. 81.

and literary critics have held Haggard up as an exemplar of this more aggressive and masculine imperialism.[609] This ideology has been elaborated and investigated by Bradley Deane as the glorification of the 'imperial barbarian.'[610] This expression of the warlike attitude, the barbaric spirit contrasted with the missionary, evangelical spirit of the mid-Victorian, was often expressed in Haggard's novels. But this is not as apparent in Haggard's non-fiction. Instead the theme which does appear in his fiction, the idealisation of the character of an English adventurer hero, as elaborated in *Allan Quatermain* and in others of his novels, was this focus on independent virtues, not barbarity. Imperial man needed an edge of barbarity, a frontier mentality, but it was far more focussed on adventure, and independence of living, than an alliance with the barbarian.

Haggard was himself very proud of his novels for expressing this combination of the spirit of warlike adventure and inspiring Britons to come out to uphold the empire and the frontier. In his *Diary of an African Journey* from 1914, Haggard records meeting a Mr Donovan in Durban, the overseer of a compound for 'native labourers.' Donovan tells Haggard that it was his work that caused him to come out to South Africa and leads him to reflect that,

> I begin to think I must have had some hand in providing South Africa with what it so sadly needs, British population, during the last quarter of a century. Many superior persons turn up their noses at my romantic work and for aught I know are justified in that exalted attitude, yet, it appears to have some practical influence in the world.[611]

To have drawn British people out to be on the frontier was a cause of great pride. It was here on the edge of empire that they were living lives which might have been impossible in Britain. Haggard spends a number of pages in his diary detailing the compound which Donovan ran and it is the authority and opportunity for action, which is easier in the empire than at home, which is why emigration was such a boon. Haggard was careful to note in this extract how this emigration was something which South Africa 'so sadly needs'. Similarly, with a jibe at high-minded literary critics, it was the inspiration for adventure and settling across the empire that is the key result of Haggard's work. Haggard was worried about the population imbalance that prevailed in South Africa and saw it as a great service to the empire to encourage greater white emigration. As he noted in this passage, the imperial inspiration, the 'practical influence' which

[609] See for instance, Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 1; Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys*, pp. 127-8
[610] Deane, *Masculinity and New Imperialism*, p. 1.
[611] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, p. 234.

these books had upon the British belief in and actions for the empire, were what Haggard considered his greatest literary service.

Adventure stories like Haggard's were criticised at the time and, frequently have been since for their glorification of war and fighting. Adventure or 'Romance' writers were criticised for betraying the uplifting and moral vision of the mid-Victorian novel. The Liberal MP Charles Masterman in 1905, accused Literature under these 'apostles of the New Imperialism', of 'deserting to the enemy'.[612] Haggard and his fellow writers were often derided by contemporaries and in 1891 J.K. Stephen famously attacked the perceived jingoism, and popularity, of the novels of Haggard and Kipling. In a poem expressing the revulsion, and jealousy of the popular appeal of this new overriding version of fiction, he prayed for a time,

When the Rudyards shall cease from Kipling

And the Haggards ride no more.[613]

Haggard repeatedly answered the charge in his autobiography that his pages 'have breathed war'. In reply he was 'quite unrepentant' and contended that war 'brings forth many noble actions'.[614] Haggard wrote many defences of his writing and the effects that it might have. In a letter to an un-named correspondent in 1920 he argues that

> As regards the fighting in my books – If I have taught some thousands of those who fought in the war that their hands were given to them to defend their heads, their country, their women and the rest – is it so ill a work? I had rather write of clean heroic fighting, than of crime and such like. At least I have stimulated the love of our Empire in some – when I was last in Africa I met several whom my books had sent there – to their gain.[615]

It was self-evident to him that fiction should reinforce the morals which he thought most laudable. In Haggard's mind, war had given men some of its finest qualities, 'such as patriotism, courage, obedience to authority, patience in disaster, fidelity to friends and a noble cause, endurance and so forth'.[616] Novels were educational and forming of what Haggard saw and wanted in the English, adventurous pioneers. Thus, as he recounts in this letter, expressing

[612] Quoted in Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, p. 2.
[613] J K Stephen, published in the *Cambridge Review*, 1891, See Waller, *Writers, Readers*, p. 959.
[614] Haggard, *Days of My Life, vol. II*, p. 16.
[615] Norfolk Record Office, MS 4694/31/14, 3rd Jan, 1920
[616] Haggard, *Days of My Life Vol. II*, p. 103.

sentiments which were doubtless nurtured through the First World War, the duty that his fiction had performed was to help in the formation of virtue, 'clean heroic fighting' and steer people clear of vice which he thought was encouraged in novels of 'crime and such like.' The notion of 'clean heroic fighting' is also linked here, seamlessly, to Africa and those he met and talked to on his tour in 1914. The virtuous attributes his books, largely through the themes they discuss, fostered which maintained Britain during the First World War, were also giving the British readers the stimulation for 'the love of our Empire'. Africa was the stage for those who possessed these virtues and those who went out there, went out 'to their gain.'[617]

This sentiment, praising the virtues of the English spirit was echoed by Haggard down to the end of his life. The National Birth Rate Commission, 1918-1920, investigating the decline in the British birth rate, on which Haggard served and gave evidence expressed the same thought whilst considering how Englishmen could live upon the soil. These were ideas which were evidently strongly linked in his mind. In his evidence Haggard contended that,

> It should be remembered that by nature the Englishman is an adventurer, not an agriculturalist, in which he differs from the Highlander, the Welshman and the Irishman, for the reason that the Celts are land-lovers. As soon as the Englishman found the opportunity, he began to desert the soil and to return to his ancestral occupation of adventure, whether in trade or otherwise, and this tendency is, I believe, as strong as ever in his blood.[618]

Haggard's was a statement of an exclusive English spirit in the empire. The Englishman was called to the empire to express his innate spirit as 'an adventurer' far more than the other peoples of the British Isles. This was something far less consensual in the context of British notions of character and did not fit into settled notions of the 'English Gentleman' or the imperial mission. But this was an extract from evidence in which Haggard was attempting to encourage the English, as he had been for much of his life and particularly the last fifteen, to be 'an agriculturalist'. A page later in his evidence he argues that,

> as much as any man in England I am convinced of the necessity of reserving, and indeed increasing, the population on the land, which is really the nursery of our race. There the healthy men and women are born and reared who in the end our cities devour.

[617] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, p. 234.
[618] *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, p. 257.

Haggard goes on to call attention to the land in the Dominions where 'great territories lie unoccupied, crying to be tilled'.[619] But it is not necessary to see a contradiction here. Being reared on the land was a strong link to the ancestral greatness which gave the English the spirit and strength necessary for pursuing empire. The English needed agriculture as a prerequisite, but it was not the calling of their race. The 'great territories' of the empire were there for their true calling, the adventure of the frontier and the unknown. Instead Haggard envisioned the English as exemplars of what may be termed here, appropriately for the notions of a man close to the American President Theodore Roosevelt, 'rugged individualism'. Whether on the frontier in Africa, or supporting a farm in Canada, South Africa or Australia, it was these same concepts of character which were called for.

This promotion of the ideal imperial English character, one far more daring and sharper than in Britain, was only indirectly connected to the other aspect of adventure which has often been noted in Haggard's novels, the burgeoning fascination with boyhood. From Robert Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) to Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901), there was a growing imperial fascination with boyhood.[620] But, although this was undoubtedly a considerable aspect of Haggard's novels as the dedication of *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), 'to all the big and little boys who read it' indicates, this is less apparent in his non-fiction. In his call for settling upon the land, for a life free from the drudgery and vice of the cities, the idealisation of character is based upon the freedom of life upon the land. Like the adventurers who populate his novels, Haggard's non-fiction called for a judicious combination of classic imperial ruling virtues, leadership and restraint as well as the edge of barbarity. There is an element of Deane's 'cultural cross-dressing' here, using the supposed characteristics of praised, vigorous and warlike indigenous peoples to reinvigorate the ruling classes of the empire.[621] Haggard encourages a certain edge, the sloughing off of civilisation and its weakening ephemera in order to make it on the frontier. But this is closer to a reimagining of the existing arguments around imperial character than a new imagining of empire.

Living on the land was deemed to be the most important aspect in maintaining the empire, the thing from which the other virtues would spring. Instead of this however, Rider Haggard, given his most famous literary creation, the hunter Allan Quatermain, has often been associated with the fashion for big-game hunting in the empire. It has been speculated, by contemporaries and

[619] *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, pp. 258-9.
[620] Deane, *Masculinity and New Imperialism*, pp. 85-114. Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', pp. 105-121; Bristow, *Empire Boys*
[621] Deane, *Masculinity and New Imperialism*, p. 51.

since, although always denied by Haggard, that the inspiration for the character was Frederick Courtenay Selous, the famous hunter and writer.[622] Hunting was a prominent part of imperial ideology, both in Africa and India as historians such as John Mackenzie and Kenneth Storey have shown.[623] But if we delve into Haggard's work, aside from his adventure novels, his contribution to this seems rather slim. Outside of his fiction, none of Haggard's work dwells on the contest between man and beast being a formative imperial experience. In later life, Haggard seems to have associated life upon the land more with the virtues needed in farming than hunting. In his autobiography Haggard recounts how as a boy he enjoyed playing with a gun and later that he often hunted. But strikingly, later in life he eschewed hunting completely after reflecting on the psychical event around the death of his dog. Instead, he now only 'brings them down in imagination with an umbrella or a walking-stick'.[624] Although Haggard does say that he is still extremely fond of hunting and still accompanies friends on shooting trips, simply refraining from shooting. This ambivalence seems to be Haggard wrestling about the excessively sanguinary nature of hunting, and in an apparent background parallel, with the actions of imperial man to the peoples of the globe.

A year before these recollections, in 1911, Haggard dealt with the theme of hunting explicitly in *The Mahatma and the Hare: A Dream-Story*. In this the protagonist, a hare, nobly and courageously evades an obnoxious hunter only to meet him on the road in the afterlife once he was eventually captured after attempting to swim out to sea.[625] In the encounter on the road, the hare argues with the 'Red-Faced man' that hunting was wrong. His son was excessively bloodthirsty and ignored the pluckiness of the hare, who evaded the hounds and hunters for so long, but Haggard extended his critique beyond just bad hunting practice in the conversation in the afterlife between the upright hunter, and the hare.[626] Although it should be noted that Haggard was deeply ambivalent about this, concluding that it was 'a difficult matter whereon I feel quite incompetent to express any view'.[627] Linking this with character, Haggard criticised hunting, especially in the relentless way it was pursued by the vindictive son. The novel is primarily focussed on the plucky resistance and flight of the hare, who attempts to finally drown

[622] Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character*, pp. 5. & 56-8
[623] John M. Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) Kenneth Storey, 'Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930', *Journal of World History*, 2:2 (Fall, 1991), pp. 135-171
[624] Haggard, *Days of My Life Vol. I*, p. 29 & Vol. II, p. 163.
[625] Henry Rider Haggard, *The Mahatma and the Hare: A Dream-Story* (London: Longmans and Green, 1911), pp. 132-4.
[626] Haggard, *Mahatma and the Hare*, pp. 159-161
[627] Haggard, *Mahatma and the Hare*, p. 164.

rather than allowing himself to be killed by the hunters, but is snatched out of the water, resuscitated, and thrown to the hounds.[628] Haggard was advancing an argument based on man's relationship with nature and character. Unreasonable and bloodthirsty, hunting was, rather than a testament to a man's sterling qualities, a token of doubt about his character. There is also in this 'Dream story' implicit overtones of the duty of the strong towards those unable to resist. The pluckiness of the hare, compared with the callous brutality of Tom, the son who revives the drowning hare just to see it torn apart by his hounds, could be seen as an encomium to imperial duty towards indigenous peoples. Hunting was used as a way of conceptualising the test of man against beast, but this seems to have been, at least in part, simply a literary creation on Haggard's part.

The emphasis upon masculinity in Haggard's conception of imperial virtues raises the question of gender and empire. Allan Quatermain's famous boast in *King Solomon's Mines* that there is 'not a petticoat in the whole history' has been a gift to historians and literary scholars investigating the nature of imperial masculinity.[629] It seems to be such an obvious trope of a genre which is, as Bradley Deane puts it, 'aimed at a readership of men and boys, these stories centred on interactions between male characters; women – especially British women – were driven to the narrative margins.'[630] But considering his later work on agricultural and land reform, the nature of masculinity in his work becomes more complex. Haggard's argument for the settlement of people on the land, through land reform at home and in the empire was, a strongly familial, if still distinctly masculine one. Despite his novels exploring the imperial character of masculinity, the benefits of living on the land, as expounded in his non-fiction was to do with creating and raising healthy families, something which of necessity, involves women.

Even in arguments based upon the healthiness of family life and rearing children upon the land, women are barely present in Haggard's non-fictional works. There was a considerable implicit female role, bearing and rearing healthy children, but it is the masculinist vision of an empire devoted to strong and independent men that holds sway. Women were assumed to be there and accompanying, but this is not where Haggard's attention is particularly drawn. *The After-War Settlement* in which he advertised the benefits of imperial emigration to soldiers from the First World War, contains one of the few extracts explicitly concerned with men and women. Haggard argued that the success of settlement depended upon the character of the man going

[628] Haggard, *Mahatma and the Hare*, p. 99 & 134.
[629] See, for instance, John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 206.
[630] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, p. 2.

out, but it also rests, he emphasises, 'upon the man's wife'.[631] Women had a role to play in making settlements work but this was largely directed towards the falling rate of population growth. As he writes to Theodore Roosevelt, the cities represented 'an ultimate dearth of life' as poor women in the cities were often prevented from bearing children due to their poverty. The inequalities of the city had 'the woman who will not bear children on the one hand; the woman who may not bear children on the other'.[632] Haggard is here emphasising the link of surroundings to the birth rate. He argues in this same letter that rural families had many more children while he derides a rich and supposedly typical New York woman feeding her lap dog off 'plates of gold'. The schemes for emigration with which Haggard was involved were usually concerned to attract families rather than single men. Men isolated from women were seen as degenerating into brutality, cut off from a natural state and there were campaigns, by Flora Shaw of *The Times* as well as the female emigration societies and others to increase the number of women in the colonies, civilising their rough frontier life.[633]

Haggard respected the archetypal 'no-nonsense' attitude of women in the colonies. Strong, dedicated, enduring and brave, Haggard's ideal woman for the colonies was someone who would participate in the hard work of colonisation, farming and frontier life with her husband. In his autobiography he recalls a time he respected his wife more than at any other, representing these virtues. When Haggard was in Natal as a farmer at Hilldrop in 1881, he recalls in his autobiography how

> Some five hundred of the enemy had taken possession of the next farm to our own, which they looted. The Boers had descended into Natal, in order to attack the reinforcements. We colonists saw a chance, a desperate chance it is true, of cutting them off, or at any rate of inflicting great damager upon them. A number of us congregated at Newcastle with the idea of forming a volunteer corps. I was very doubtful whether I ought to join, seeing what were my family responsibilities. I remember my young wife coming out of the house into the garden, where some of us were talking over the matter, and saying, "Don't consider me. Do what you think your duty. I'll take my chance." Never did I admire any woman more than I did her upon that occasion. In all the circumstances which in her case included the imminent birth of a child, I thought and

[631] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 37.
[632] Norfolk Record Office, Letter to Roosevelt, 14th July 1912, MC 32/45.
[633] Lisa Chilton, 'A New Class of Women for the Colonies: The Imperial Colonist and the Construction of Empire', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:2 (2003), pp. 36-56

> think her conduct in this matter, and indeed throughout all these troubles, little less than heroic. But of such stuff is she made.[634]

Haggard's wife, Louise, is praised here for her 'little less than heroic' way of being willing to sacrifice herself and her unborn child, for the Empire, for the British in South Africa, and for what Rider Haggard evidently himself deemed to be right. The virtues which he praises in women are self-sacrifice for the largely male imperial project. This is true in his non-fiction as much as it is in his fiction. Sacrifice, grit, and determination were what Haggard argued the empire needed, in its women just as much as its men. Imperialism in the case quoted above, came before Haggard's and wife's concern for their child at that moment and her concern for herself and it is this which merits Rider Haggard's praise. Sacrifice for the empire and for the 'desperate chance' of inflicting a defeat upon the Boers.

The Link Between Living on the Land and the Primitive Virtues of Empire

His focus on the adventurous and imperial spirit of the Englishman led Haggard to investigate its presumed origins. Racialised descriptions of the savage nature of the inhabitants of slums, especially in London, were becoming increasingly common as studies such as Jack London's *The People of the Abyss* and William Booth's *In Darkest England* demonstrate.[635] Haggard was especially impressed with Booth and the Salvation Army's work with the poor and settling them on farms.[636] Slums were being increasingly medicalised and racialised as a different world to that of the middle class, one intriguing, horrifying and possibly enticing, which urban explorers could now venture to: for Haggard, the solution lay in decreasing and discouraging urbanisation.[637] The land provided the necessary upbringing for Englishmen to become adventurers and imperialists, it was the base and home from which they sprang to traverse the empire and world. Tariff reform and land reform were ideas in this attempt by Chamberlain and others in the movement, as well as subsequent Conservative and Unionist party policy, to

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[634] Haggard, *Days of My Life Vol. I*, pp. 183-4.

[635] Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1903) William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: Salvation Army, 1890). See J. Marriott, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and Progress in the Colonial Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001)

[636] Henry Rider Haggard, *The Poor and the Land being a report on the Salvation army colonies in the United States and at Hadleigh, England, with scheme of national land settlement and an introduction* (London: Longmans, 1905) for this connection with the Salvation Army. Haggard, *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, pp. 258-9.

[637] Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

link the empire with agriculture in Britain.[638] As the protection of agriculture, through land reform, was indelibly linked to the health of the British nation in racial terms, these arguments, often separated, had to be confronted by those interested in the state of the land in Britain in the 1900s. In the 1890s, after a decade of writing fiction and with great popularity, Haggard began to doubt the continuing usefulness of his fiction. At this point, as he recalls in his autobiography, 'I wearied of fiction and longed for the life of action to which I had been bred and that, indeed, is native to my character.'[639] Haggard found this 'life of action' which he advocated for all in Britain, in pursuing his work on agriculture. It was this work which Haggard contended that he could do to 'help alleviate that misery, to lift them up for their own good and for the good of the world'.[640] Haggard, although proud of his fiction, believed his work on the settlement of people on the land to be his greatest work. This may, perhaps, be best illustrated by Haggard's appendix to his autobiography, a speech in Ottawa Canada in 1905. He wished this to be included because it represented, 'the essence of his views on the subject of the settlement of the surplus town population of Great Britain on the unoccupied land of the Empire.'[641] This was his most important expression and work, so he wanted it clearly left in his testament.

In this speech in Ottawa, Haggard recounted many of his classic arguments about settlement on the land and within the empire.

> I perceived and realised the enormous change that is coming over the Western world; how those, who, for countless generations, dwelt upon the land, are deserting the land and crowding into the cities. I studied the reasons for this. [...] In England the chief cause was lack of prospect. We are cramped in England with the remains of a feudal system which works nothing but ill; and under that system it is so that no man on the land seems to have a chance to rise.[642]

Fascination with 'the land' and the importance of the living link with it, was what Haggard drew from this introspective search for a higher cause in his life. He had a lifelong fascination with nature, farming and a connection to the land. His first independent career move was to

[638] E. H. H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880-1914* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 186. and Paul Readman, 'The Edwardian Land Question' in *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950,* ed by Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (London: Palgrave, 2010), p. 186.
[639] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 86.
[640] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 264.
[641] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 261.
[642] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 265.

attempt to set up an ostrich farm in South Africa in the late 1870s. Moreover, he kept notes about nature for much of his life and in his papers there are nature notes about Ditchingham, the long-time home of the Haggard family, from 1889.[643] This interest remained until it became his primary focus during the 1890s. Reflecting on his reasons for farming in a later book on *Rural Denmark and its lessons* in 1911, Haggard states, 'I farm because I love the land, which both thought and observation tell me is the bedrock of everything, wherein man is rooted and out of which he draws all that makes him man'.[644] By the 1910s, Haggard had become more widely appreciated as an authority on farming and the living connection with it. In 1911, after reading *Rural Denmark and its Lessons*, Robert Baden-Powell wrote to ask his advice on farming to teach to the Boy Scouts. His aim was to 'teach the young farmer the latest methods' and 'I should be most grateful for any hints or suggestions' which Haggard could give.[645] Encouraging this life was axiomatically beneficial for these two veterans of the South African frontier. The land was idolised as something which produced the noble class of yeomen who formed the heart of England. It was the bedrock of a man in the same way that he drew sustenance for his body from the food it produced. Concern persisted for many about the 'remains of a feudal system' that Haggard noted, especially as the franchise widened. The concentration of land ownership was creating a class of farmers who had no real connection to the land which they farmed. If they were instead, freeholders of this land, many Conservatives argued that this would not only benefit 'character' but would also act as a bulwark against revolutionary and communal ideas.[646] As Haggard put it in *Rural England*, 'no-one is more convinced than I am of the necessity, if our Country is to continue in its present place, of the re-construction of the lost yeoman class, who rear a stamp of children very different to those who are bred in the great towns.'[647]

Haggard wrote numerous publications on this theme from 1898 onwards. He began by reflecting on his own experience, both as a gardener and farmer, detailing their respective years in extended diaries in 1898 and 1899. He then decided to examine the overall state of agriculture in *Rural England* in 1902. These were the starting bases of his diagnosis of the malaise in England that was dragging it down, the sickly state of agriculture. As he puts it in *A*

[643] Norfolk Record Office, MS 4694/2/7 Also see, MS 4694/2/1 for nature notes on plants from 1882-3.
[644] Haggard, *Rural Denmark and its Lessons*, pp. 253-4.
[645] 23rd October 1911. Quoted in *Lives of Victorian Literary Figures VII: Joseph Conrad, H. Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling by their Contemporaries, Volume 2: H. Rider Haggard*, Edited by Lindy Stiebel (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), p. 213.
[646] Paul Readman, 'The Edwardian Land Question', p. 185
[647] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. I*, p. xix.

Farmer's Year, 'must not the numbers, health and courage of our race in their turn pay a portion of the price of the ruin of its wholesome nurseries?'[648] Because the pastoral life was linked so strongly to population and health, both in mind and body, the state of agriculture was of deep concern to the whole nation. In *Rural England*, he foretold the 'progressive deterioration of the race' if nothing was done. Comparing the expense of his scheme for an Agricultural Post with the Ugandan railway, 'why, for once in a while should not rural England have the same benefit of the experimental investment of money as is freely granted to savage Africa?'[649] Decrying the expense of empire, as contrasted to the need of money in Britain became increasingly common in some circles, especially in the wake of the South African War. This led even committed imperialists, albeit usually Liberals, to seriously question the expense of the empire in public.[650] But, for some this argument for increased domestic investment was an imperially inflected one. It could be maintained that the greatness of the imperial race in Britain was of paramount concern. Winston Churchill made this argument in 1905 writing in the *Lincoln Gazette* that, 'if we are to have a great Empire and be worthy of it, we must have a healthy home'.[651] In 1890, the creation of playing fields in London were also the subject of encomiums from Alfred Lyttelton and the *Morning Post* as areas which not only aided public health but the 'object of the meeting was to encourage that love of manly games which had done so much to make Englishmen and England what they were.'[652] The conviction that the importance of agricultural practice to life, and green areas in cities for exercise and fresh air, in England, or as Haggard came to argue, with the settler empire, could be considered crucial because it preserved and strengthened the imperial race. Haggard believed simply that 'if our country is to decline from its present high position the principal cause of its fall will be our national neglect to maintain the population on the land'.[653] This was of greater moment than the imperial mission because it threatened the imperial people themselves.

Nevertheless, Haggard's support for agricultural reform only temporarily and partially led him to favour tariffs and protection. This was simply because Haggard thought that in political terms protection was simply a 'chimera, even an impossibility, in Britain as Britain is to-day'. Simply put, 'dearer food to the vast majority means less food and more work. To escape these

[648] Haggard, *A Farmer's Year*, p. viii.
[649] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. II*, pp. 541 & 558.
[650] Readman, *Land and Nation*, p. 82.
[651] Readman, *Land and Nation in England*, p. 82. *Lincoln Gazette*, 21st October 1905, p. 6.
[652] *Morning Post*, 'Playing Fields for London', Mar 6th 1890, p. 2.
[653] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. II*, p. 575.

things even law-abiding men might shed blood.'[654] Therefore, although Haggard believed that 'unchecked foreign competition' was the chief circumstance which threatened British agriculture, protection was not the answer or cure he sought. As this was a cause very close to his own heart it split him somewhat from the Unionist party at this time, consumed as it often was in debates over protection. Despite standing, in a personally bruising experience, for the Norwich seat for the Unionists in the 1895 election, the embrace of protection distanced him from the party during the 1900s. Haggard would countenance some 'modest but general measure of protection such as did not suffice to raise the price of food to any appreciable extent' but his real solutions lay elsewhere.[655] Haggard urged the repopulating of rural districts through a 'settled agricultural policy' from the government and simply to encourage the industry by the alleviation of financial pressure upon agriculture. His report from his tour of England recommended the lessening of burdens on agriculture so that 'the owners of land should cease to be over-taxed, unjustly rated and continually threatened.' This, he contended, was 'one of the most urgent needs of our age'.[656]

In his work on the mission and practice of the Salvation Army we can see Haggard contemplating more active government measures for supporting agriculture. He expands upon the theme of the exaltation of an idea of working upon the land. Despite sounding a cautious note in his visit to the Salvation Army colonies in the USA and at Hadleigh, Suffolk in England in 1905, Haggard was optimistic. He hoped that,

> someday the Nation will come to understand that the true cure or palliative for these and many other troubles is to be found, not in the workhouses or in other State-supported institutions, but upon, whether it be the land of Britain or that of her immeasurable Empire, which between them, were our poor ten times as many could provide for everyone.[657]

Living upon the land, properly managed, was Haggard's solution to the misery of urban unemployment and poverty with which the Salvation Army had to deal. Seeing the flight from the land first-hand in East Anglia, Haggard was inspired by these schemes for re-settling people. This trip to the United States of America for the Salvation Army was one of Haggard's first opportunities to see how this resettling could work. The scheme was taking the unemployed

[654] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. II*, pp. 537-8.
[655] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. I*. p. x.
[656] Haggard, *Rural England, Vol. I*, pp. xxii-iii
[657] Haggard, *The Poor and the Land*, pp. xxix-xxx.

and giving them, as part of a camp and according to strict rules, work as farmers.[658] This is how he would attempt to 'lift some of the mass of human misery which demonstrates itself in the great cities of civilisation to a new level of plenty and contentment'.[659] Haggard saw the potential improvement of the lives of the poor as tied to the land. In his notebook from 1905 for America, the opening page summarises his hopes and aims. 'The scheme ought first to be for the benefit of agriculture. Either to stop their coming off the land, or to take them from the city'.[660] This aim to improve the lot of the poor was conflated by Haggard into an imperial mission. The Salvation Army scheme was a possible prototype where the emigration of the 'destitute' from the cities was of benefit not only to themselves, but also relieved pressure on Britain to support them. Crucially, this resettlement was not simply exporting Britain's problems. This settlement could, through the Salvation Army scheme or others, work for the reformation of the emigrants' characters, settling them on the morally restitutive land. Similarly, encouraged to live on the fertile lands of Canada or Australia, 'they also benefit our empire abroad, where if they be decent folk, their advent will be held a blessing'.[661] The empire was a relief even to Britain's unemployment, aiding the Mother Country in dealing with the masses and the colonies in providing them with labour. But, in practical political terms, it is crucial to note Haggard's caveat of 'if they be decent folk'. The Dominion governments often complained of the quality of emigrant they received, and Haggard was careful not to guarantee a better future for the emigrant.

Given the plight of British agriculture, in 1911 Haggard looked to Denmark and the lessons it could give instead as an example of what agriculture could do, properly cared for. Haggard was drawn to Denmark because he thought it offered lessons in its co-operative movement, farmer's ownership of the land and use of technology. These lessons could save English agriculture, potentially within Britain itself prioritising this pastoral link over the necessity of emigration, which was, at root, Haggard's mission. As he put it,

> If he were its owner as distinguished from its tenant, by the help of science and co-operation, out of that land, as I believe, would in a few years produce much food and profit. As I have implied, my view is that in a couple of generations or less the

[658] Haggard, *The Poor and the Land*, p. vii.
[659] Haggard, *The Poor and the Land*, p. ix.
[660] Norfolk Record Office, MS 4694/2/14, Notebook on America, 1905.
[661] Haggard, *The Poor and the Land*, p. xxii.

> countryside would shine with prosperity and teem with population, and this without the aid of Protection or any other adventitious aid.[662]

Haggard notes that the adoption of this system would harm the very rich landowners as well as the shop-owners who relied on their business. But Haggard laments that this system, which encouraged agriculture, led to the reclamation of land, and was supported by the state in a serious manner, was 'but a dream so far as England is concerned'. In Britain the land was regarded as a 'plaything' by the richer classes and considered a 'negligible quantity' by the 'Radical party'.[663]

In his later tour for the Royal Colonial Institute in 1916, Haggard noted how the Dominion governments were always concerned about the vetting of the proposed emigrants so that they 'satisfy certain standards'.[664] The correct character was needed to flourish in the empire no matter the benefits of settling upon the land. Personal responsibility was emphasised in emigration as, 'in the end everything depends upon the man himself and, I may add, upon the man's wife'.[665] Circumstance, character and context were inextricably bound up. Despite the conditions and seeming reluctance of the Dominion governments to accept soldiers without serious consultation as to their selection, Haggard could report in a letter that,

> I have finished my work in Australasia & I am thankful today that it has been thoroughly successful, far more so than I could have hoped.' - […] - 'It is my hope that this matter of attempting to conserve its population to the Empire instead of allowing it to percolate to foreign countries will become to be acknowledged one of the utmost importance indeed of Empire – that some machinery will be set up at home which is competent to handle the business on Empire lines.[666]

Haggard wished to maintain the population of Britain beneath the British flag, diverting the emigration to the USA. During his tour for the RCI, what he termed his 'war offering', he could believe that there might be some realisation to his hopes.[667]

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[662] Haggard, *Rural Denmark*, p. 260.
[663] Haggard, *Rural Denmark*, pp. 241 & 260-1.
[664] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, pp. 18 & 27.
[665] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 37.
[666] Norfolk Record Office, MC32/47. This is an unsigned and undated letter in the collection, but from internal evidence can be dated to 1916.
[667] *The Private Diaries of Henry Rider Haggard*, 3rd January 1916, p. 49.

This then, was Haggard's ideal in the agricultural reforms which he was pursuing, it was his great mission for the Empire, relieving the degeneration and sickliness of the race.

Henry Rider Haggard, Racial fears, and Living on the Land

The appeal of the rural as an ideal in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain was a powerful one.[668] Although this tended to be a southern English vision of the pastoral which occluded issues of agricultural poverty and unemployment. The benefits of a country life, healthy air and open space, contrasted with the sink of the cities, were seen as beneficial to the country, its people and the empire.[669] This was widely commented upon in the speeches in societies such as the Royal Colonial Institute, which was then reported. *The Review of Reviews*, reporting on one of these speeches in 1909, noted that Reservists in India, those who are, 'young, active, accustomed to a rough life, and often able to handles horses' would be excellent settlers in Australia.[670] This was linked with their rough and ready life out on the frontier, although there were doubts about the numbers the colonies could take. There was considerable medical support for living on the land. The medical journal *The Lancet*, reviewing Haggard's *After-War Settlement* pamphlet in 1916, argued that 'A healthier life in freer surroundings for themselves and their families will be the attraction that will weigh in the balance when the relative merits of urban and rural industries come to be estimated.'[671] In 1892, C. F. Dowsett gathered fifty-seven writers to proclaim the 'attractions and riches' of life on the land and lament the progress of urbanisation in ninety three separate essays. This volume included disquisitions on the health of the country, especially in contrast to the cities, practical advice for land surveying and using water-power machinery, as well as on the charm of rural life exemplified through an appreciation of the derided figure of the 'Country Mouse'.[672] Implicit in all of these statements of support for country living was the belief that geography had a crucial effect upon character.

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[668] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) For an opposing view, see Peter Mandler, "Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 7, 1997, pp. 155–175.

[669] Robert Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 203-11 elaborates on the metaphor of 'England as a Garden.' Jeremy Burckhardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change since 1800* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002)

[670] 'Imperial Emigration: A Proposed Solution', *The Review of Reviews*; vol. 40. Iss. 335 (July 1909), p. 52.

[671] *The Lancet*, 23rd September 1916, pp. 564-5

[672] Charles Finch Dowsett, *Land: Its attractions and riches* (London: The "Land Roll" office, 1892)

Context and character 'were intertwined in an intricate dialectic in Victorian political thought; character was shaped by circumstance, but a good character was also one that could cope with demanding circumstances' as Duncan Bell has put it.[673] The timing of the idolising, nostalgic link to the land, and the character and health of those who lived and worked upon it, can be linked to the declining fortunes of agriculture in England from the 1870s. Haggard, taking up this call of J. R. Seeley, Lord Brabazon, Lord Rosebery, J. A. Froude and others, ending up on the side of the argument for strongly maintaining the imperial link in land reform.[674] Taking up the traditionally Liberal cause of land reform for the Unionists, Haggard linked it strongly to the continuation of the British as an imperial race.[675] This call for a continued and strengthened connection to the land was an issue which remained strongly cross-party, although with differing motivations for Conservatives and Liberals. As an argument which worked well within the 'political economy of empire' as E. H. H. Green has put it, Haggard's campaigning for imperial emigration and settlement complemented arguments for increased imperial trade.[676] When he arrived at this debate in the late 1890s, Haggard was distanced from mainstream opinion, but he did intervene at a juncture when his ideas were beginning to become more accepted.

Haggard's intervention as Paul Readman has contended, 'represented a turning of the tide' in much Unionist opinion, which had previously balked at encouraging small-scale landholdings.[677] Haggard had a specific constituency within Unionism which was wary of protectionism, but which was profoundly concerned about the decline of English agriculture. Over two-thirds of candidates for English seats in the 1906 election mentioned land reform in their addresses and by 1910 land reform had become an accepted part of the Conservative and Unionist platform.[678] Acknowledging the argument about the natural conservatism of those on the land and householders, the Conservatives attempted to 'cut the ground, literally as well as metaphorically, from under Socialism'.[679] But even as this argument developed, qualms about

[673] Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain*, p. 53.
[674] Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain*, p. 52.
[675] Roy Douglas, *Land, People & Politics: A History of the Land Question in the United Kingdom, 1878-1952* (London: Allison & Busby, 1976) emphasises the Liberal lead on many issues of Land Reform. Also see, Ian Packer, *Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land: the Land Issue and Party Politics in England, 1906-1914* (Royal Historical Society: London, 2001)
[676] E. H. H. Green, 'The Political Economy of Empire, 1880-1914' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. By William Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 355.
[677] Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England*, p. 78 and Readman, 'The Edwardian Land Question', pp. 181-200
[678] Readman, 'The Edwardian Land Question', p. 190.
[679] Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism*, p. 195.

sending the Britons overseas and weakening the centre of the empire persisted in Conservative and Unionist circles. Haggard worked at an oblique angle to the party he had once stood for. He reflected, boasting, in his autobiography that 'as a party man I am the most miserable failure' for he would never obey the whip being too independent in his 'crossbench mind'.[680] Nevertheless, Haggard's work contributed to a re-orientating of Unionist policy and political positioning as a party that could, as a result of the widening franchise, appeal as a less aristocratic party. Haggard's work was burnishing an anti-urban image of English identity, not as one of Peter Mandler's 'aesthetes' for stately homes, but as a supporter of the farming squire and smaller landholders.[681] The 'image of the yeoman homestead', and not that of the stately home, represented the English countryside ideal' as Readman has aptly put it and Haggard's efforts were tapping into this.[682]

Although Haggard himself was no classicist, admitting himself in his autobiography to be 'more or less of a dunderhead at lessons', this argument has strong echoes in contemporary comparisons with ancient Rome.[683] Edward Gibbon's warning about Rome at its fall being people by a 'race of pygmies when the fierce giants of the North broke in and mended the puny breed' conjured anxieties amongst many in Britain.[684] This was an argument which crossed the political spectrum, albeit with different parallels drawn. As the Liberal James Bryce argued in his comparison of ancient Rome and the British in India 'both triumphed by force of character'. But as it rose, so it fell. The Roman Empire's demise was 'really due to internal causes' in which he lists corruption, loss of warlike character and maladministration.[685] In *A Farmer's Year*, Haggard records a letter exchange with Lord Walsingham, a Norfolk landowner and who bemoans the loss of a desire to work on the land as 'better education makes every young man desire to wear a black coat'. Rider Haggard in 1899, in the appendix in the book records this letter from Lord Walsingham approvingly, who exhorts, 'Look at the pure-bred Cockney […] in the offices of the city' who contrasts with the 'average young labourer coming home from his days field work' which gave a lesson about removing people from 'their natural breeding grounds'. This was where 'ancient Rome has a lesson to teach'.[686] Fears about imperial decline

[680] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 106.
[681] Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 108-9
[682] Paul Readman, 'Jesse Collings and land reform, 1886-1914', *Historical Research*, vol. 81, No.212 (May 2008), p. 312.
[683] Haggard, *Days of My Life, vol. I,* p. 5.
[684] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I* (In Twelve Volumes) (Basil, JJ Tourneisen, 1787-9), p. 77
[685] James Bryce, *The Roman Empire and The British Empire in India & The Diffusion of Roman and English Law throughout the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), pp. 55 & 75.
[686] Haggard, *A Farmer's Year,* pp. 463 & 466.

were often traced from the only empire that the British were willing to take lessons from.[687] The fall of the Roman Empire was widely linked in the imperialist press to the degeneration of martial character which resulted from urban decay.[688] It could also be linked, compellingly for those concerned with land reform, with the introduction of *latifundia* in the Roman Empire, which removed the link between many Romans and the land they were tilling.[689] Haggard was concerned to combat the physical and mental degeneration of the race that was widely believed to be taking place in the cities. The crucial point was often a comparative one. City-living nations and empires based solely on trade would collapse, as later Rome or Phoenicia had declined and those which historically had been linked to the land, such as Rome in an earlier era thrived. This was a notion which had a long pedigree through the nineteenth century. The recognition of the unhealthiness of many urban districts in more explicitly medical terms, coupled with the decline of agriculture from the 1870s on accelerated this romanticisation.[690]

But for many supporters of land reform qualms persisted about schemes of emigration. Although advocates of colonial emigration as a part of land reform were not 'thin on the ground […] their arguments did not command anything like universal consent'.[691] Even confining consideration of the criticism to that within Conservative and Unionist circles, the idea of sending Britons overseas was part of the problem. There was a perception that the real problem was one in Britain itself where its finest sons could not thrive on their own native soil and as the *Daily Express* lamented in 1912, it was 'young blood leaving England'.[692] Instead, reformers emphasised that attention should be paid to the 'heart of the empire' as, widespread opinion had it, any great nation and empire degenerated from within.[693] Haggard sympathised with these arguments to a degree but saw the settler colonies as simply being included within Britain. As he advised his godson Roderick in 1912, on where he might emigrate to, 'personally in no case would I go to any country, such as Java or Sumatra, over which the British flag does

[687] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 247-8. Emma Reisz, 'Classics, Race, and Edwardian Anxieties about Empire' in *Classics and Imperialism in the British Empire*, ed by Mark Bradley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 210-228.
[688] The multifaceted history of Rome often meant that it was enlisted across the political spectrum with many on the left arguing that it was the decadence and rampant inequality in Ancient Rome which led to its decline. See Norman Vance, *The Victorians and Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 223.
[689] Readman, 'Jesse Collings', p. 303. In a speech in Parliament. E. E. Mills, *Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (Oxford: Alden & co. 1905) similarly linked the decline of the pastoral link to the degeneracy of Rome. See Vance, *The Victorians*, p. 234.
[690] Bill Luckin, 'Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain 1830-1900', *Urban History*, 33.2 (2006), p. 243.
[691] Readman, *Land and Nation*, p. 80.
[692] Readman, *Land and Nation*, pp. 81-2 *Daily Express*, 30 Dec. 1912.
[693] This was often the response of campaigners for domestic land reform such as Christopher Turnor, Jesse Collings, Ellis Barker and others. See Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England*, pp. 80-85.

not fly.'[694] The rural link of the land within the Dominions would also encourage a change in the 'alarming fall in the birth rate' which he especially detected in cities, which anyway, produced unhealthy offspring.[695] But, despite this link of the flag, there was still, especially amongst those who had campaigned for land reform within Britain, criticism of Britons, and particularly demobilised soldiers, being deported overseas rather than being found employment within Britain.

Haggard was roused to conduct a letter exchange in the pages of *The Times* with one of his critics who took this view. This exchange was with Jesse Collings, which he reprinted in the *After-War Settlement* pamphlet giving some idea of the importance Haggard credited to it. Collings was a Unionist MP who had been promoting land reform in Britain since the unauthorised programme of the 1880s.[696] Collings, like others who propounded this 'heart of the empire' argument, was focused upon reform within Britain itself, arguing that the emigration of sturdy rural men was contributing to race degeneracy within Britain. He deprecated emigration schemes and particularly Haggard's for the RCI, as ones which would weaken the 'heart and centre' of the empire, sending the best of Britain overseas.[697] Haggard, in reply, assured readers that he was very supportive of maintaining rural life in Britain, emigration was only voluntary, and he saw a closer link between the Dominions and Britain than Collings. Moreover, he is incredulous of Collings's claim that there was a considerable portion of England which could still be put to agriculture. [698] Collings represented a strand of Conservative and Unionist argument which viewed emigration from Britain, even to destinations within the empire, as weakening and perilous. In many ways Collings and his promotion of yeoman proprietorship had the better of this argument up to 1914 as David Thackeray has pointed out.[699] But it was the war and the threat of millions of demobilised soldiers after it that encouraged notions of assisted emigration. Haggard argued, using the example of emigration after the South African war, that this was likely to happen anyway, and it was better that British people settled these lands, instead of 'Teutons and other foreigners.' Linking emigration to the pre-emptive defence of the empire, Haggard argued that the Dominions needed this emigration to defend themselves.[700] This charge of military sacrifice,

[694] Norfolk Record Office, MC 536/37, 775 X2, 4th June, 1912.
[695] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 38.
[696] Readman, 'Jesse Collings', pp. 300-1.
[697] Haggard, *After-War Settlement, Appendix B*., p. 50.
[698] Haggard, *After-War Settlement, Appendix B*, p. 53.
[699] David Thackeray, 'Rethinking the Edwardian Crisis of Conservatism', *The Historical Journal*, 54, 1, (2011), p. 193.
[700] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 38.

captured in the 'Homes for Heroes' General Election campaign, was why Haggard and the RCI had to guard themselves so closely against the charge of deporting British soldiers.

Haggard and those with whom he worked to promote land reform in Britain such as Lords D'Abernon and Curzon and the emigration overseas were conscious of this criticism. Their argument was based upon the imperial links of the empire, the belief in the brotherhood of Britain (or England) across the settler colonies, strengthening each part to strengthen the whole. Haggard, and other advocates of emigration to the land, hoped that they could establish that life upon the land was, of itself, more beneficial. Then, emigration from increasingly urban and industrial Britain to the overwhelmingly agricultural Dominions could seem obvious. This was especially the case as the conception of Greater Britain and the notion of the Dominions as essential parts of Britain itself took greater hold.[701] Nevertheless, Haggard often contended that he was not promoting emigration merely for the sake of it. In his work for the Royal Colonial Institute Haggard always argued in his speeches that the 'Institute had no desire to promote emigration'. Instead, if they were 'determined to go', the aim was to make it 'easy and profitable for them'. [702] This was an attempt, written during the First World War, to maintain the British race under the British flag rather than losing them to the USA and others. During the First World War, whilst Haggard was touring the Dominions for the RCI his pronouncements on the Germans, their threat to the British Empire and the necessity of unity in response was emphasised. In notes made for a speech in Ottawa in 1916, he described Germany as 'Satan come to Earth' who have brought them 'face to face with downfall of Christianity.' He then counterpoints this with the British who represent the 'Empire the Land of Liberty Holy star of Justice'.[703]

But it was not just during the war that the common destiny of the British, and particularly the white races was accentuated. The rising threat of Asia, especially in terms of population recurs in Haggard's non-fiction writing. The empty land in the empire, notably in Australia had to be filled in order to defend against their encroachment. As he put it in a letter to his Norfolk neighbour William Carr in 1913,

> The weak point of the place is the smallness of the population and the fact that most of it crowds into the cities. No doubt Australia lives in great danger and she knows it. The first time England is involved in serious trouble it may out, for what is there to prevent

[701] Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*, pp. 52-3.
[702] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 38.
[703] Norfolk Record Office, MC 536/43, Notes for a Speech in Ottawa, 1916.

> Japan or China when she is strong enough from taking possession of the same empty Northern territory and by degrees working south. Population is their only chance.[704]

This imperial link to living on the land and a numerous, strong number of people drawn from it was an integral part of Haggard's support for land reform and a state-funded emigration scheme. Settling healthy white populations across the empire was crucial to imperial defence given the burgeoning threat from the populations of Asia. In a speech to students in San Francisco in 1905 Haggard reiterated his theme concerning the weakening of the cities and then dilated upon what *The Times of India,* reporting the speech and echoing many of Haggard's arguments, called it, as this fear was often known, 'the Yellow Peril'.

> Another danger is from the East. Unless we reform, the Mongol hordes, who have not the evils of the Occident, will sweep over us as they have done in the past. The men are strong in Asia, and why? Because they are brave, because they are patriotic, because they are determined and wholehearted. But why are all these things true? Because they have drawn on a land of primitive virtues, which alone make people: That I believe to be the absolute truth. If the Western nations are to continue to hold their own, then they must abandon the idea of flocking into cities and living in slums.[705]

In his autobiography this imperial consideration was paramount. 'I start with this axiom. If the Western nations allow this sort of thing to go on, allow their population to crowd into the cities, then, I say, the career of the Western nations is going to be short.'[706] Haggard was deeply concerned about the great populations in Asia over-ruling 'our white races'. Maintaining Britons who were emigrating anyway under the British flag was an integral part of this argument. Because living on the land was also conceived of as a key aspect of imperial defence, due to the healthiness which it brought and the fertility of its families, Haggard could also emphasise imperial defence in his speeches. The increase in population that would accrue from living on the land was because, 'on the land people have more children because they are useful in the work of the place, in the city they are just a nuisance. This healthy population was the 'real wealth of the nation' and he considers them the bulwark against the spectre of China. The Chinese, strong because they were 'untiring land-bred men' would cast 'their eyes around for worlds to conquer' and seeing the emptiness of Australia would attempt to seize it. Haggard

[704] Norfolk Record Office, MC 536/40, Letter to Willy, 12th February 1913.
[705] 'THE YELLOW PERIL' *The Times of India (1861-current);* May 2, 1905; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India, pg. 6
[706] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 268.

further defends his argument against those who deride this threat as a 'bogey' using the example of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war in 1905.[707] Haggard was particularly fulsome in *Days of My Life*, perhaps because it was not published in his lifetime. But his views expressed there are similar to his other public pronouncements on this threat to white supremacy. Arguing in *The After-War Settlement* that if living on the land increased not only the healthiness, but also the number of people living in the empire, then it would be key to enabling 'the British to hold and protect a realm that covers one quarter of the earth'.[708]

Haggard's concern with the defence of the empire and the need for population to do this placed him within a deeply racial discourse. This was one shared by many imperial contemporaries and books which Haggard read. Books such as Edward Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871) and Andrew Lang's *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1887) were racially based in this way.[709] Anthropology was growing as a field, often through missionary work, at this time and was concerned with searching indigenous customs for evidence of older ways of life and religion. Much of this work had a strong imperial bent.[710] But increasingly, as in some of Haggard's novels, indigenous societies and their cultures, were viewed as legitimate objects of interest by missionaries and anthropologists.[711] They romanticised a certain primitive culture in African and other indigenous peoples as their 'correct' place which western influence was distorting and destroying. But their links to the land and simplicity was, for Haggard, a dangerous strength. Envisioning a competition between the white races and those of Japan and China rising out of this proper primitivism, Haggard saw this, not in geopolitical terms, but as a struggle between those races. Racial language was prominent in many contemporary debates, although often with meanings which might surprise, 'racial hygiene' often referring to family planning for instance. Nevertheless, the debate concerning imperial defence and the governing destiny of the British, throughout the globe, was, for many imperialists, governed by a certain set of racial concerns, as Douglas Lorimer has shown.[712] Haggard was using racial language as part of the 'wider organic metaphor' and in terms of the health of the British people as well as in terms of

[707] Haggard, *Days of My Life, Vol. II*, p. 269.
[708] Haggard, *After-War Settlement*, p. 38.
[709] See Brundan, 'Translating Zulu Language', pp. 298-302 for more discussion of the histories and writings on Africa that Haggard used. Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London: John Murray, 1871); for Tylor and others see George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), pp. 302-4. Andrew Lang's *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (London: Longmans Green, 1887) Andrew Lang was a close friend of Haggard's and Haggard dedicated *She* to him in the same year.
[710] Jane Samson, *Race and Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 68-9.
[711] Patrick Harries, 'Anthropology', in *Missions and Empire* ed by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 238-243.
[712] Lorimer, *Science, Race Relations and Empire*, p. 10.

the competition of races across the globe, with worries about a future master race such as the Japanese.[713] Drawing his arguments from books such as these which propounded a 'science' of racial characteristics, but with his own concerns focussed on the land, Haggard saw the race degeneration of white peoples in apocalyptic terms. The British Empire was threatened by the numerically superior ''Yellow' races', a fear particularly sparked in many circles in the West by the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905.

Haggard often saw the world in explicitly racial terms with each race having a particular destiny formed by their history. In this mould were some of Rider Haggard's most famous African literary creations. The Zulu people fascinated Haggard appearing in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), *Nada the Lily* (1892), and the trilogy *Marie*, (1912) *Child of Storm* (1913) and *Finished* (1917). Umslopogaas in *Allan Quatermain* (1887) and *Nada the Lily* (1892) is a notable example of Haggard's sympathetic, dramatic, and heroic portrayal of some individual Africans. 'Umslopogaas holding the stair' at the end of *Allan Quatermain* became a famous image in much of the British imagination around and interest in the Zulu, although Umslopogaas was based upon a Swazi man, M'hlopekazi.[714] Indeed, such was the striking manner in which these characters were drawn, as well as his accounts of his time in South Africa during the 1870s, that some commentators have seen in Haggard a sympathetic voice to African culture and the voices of indigenous culture. Norman Etherington for instance, noted that it is 'remarkable how little imperialism creeps into the books which made him famous'.[715] There is no doubt that African cultures greatly fascinated him, songs and dances from the Zulus pepper his narratives, both fictional and non-fictional.[716] There are even instances of Haggard sympathising with the plight of indigenous Africans in the face of incoming settlement as he records in his *Diary of an African Journey*, and the cold, indifference of whites to their plight.[717] Through his numerous novels on South Africa, Haggard earned a reputation as an expert on Zulu culture and this was something he cultivated. His first published book was on South Africa and he frequently claimed an instinctive sympathy with the amaZulu.[718] This supposed affinity was taken seriously by contemporaries, despite his relatively short time in Africa. He received a

[713] Harris, *Private Lives*, p. 236.
[714] Brundan, 'Translating Zulu language and Culture', p. 303.
[715] Norman Etherington, 'Rider Haggard and the Layered Personality', *Victorian Studies*, 22:1 (Autumn, 1978), p. 73. This was reprinted in Norman Etherington, *Imperium of the Soul* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017)
[716] In particular, see Henry Rider Haggard, *Nada the Lily* (London, Longmans & Green, 1892) The dedication to Theophilus Shepstone 'Sompseu' is couched in Zulu terms and the narrative deeply concerns Zulu life and politics.
[717] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, pp. 72-3.
[718] Henry Rider Haggard, *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours: Or, remarks on recent events in Zululand, Natal and the Transvaal* (London: Trubner, 1888 (originally published 1882))

letter from Lord Baden-Powell who had 'lately been made a Red Indian Chief' asking for information on the 'customs of other primitive peoples.' Powell wanted 'any good points of the Zulus chivalry and discipline' and anything which could be used for 'training our boys in manliness through woodcraft'. Powell evidently saw a fellow spirit in Haggard, flattering him saying that 'anything from you would carry enormous weight' with the boys and addressing him as an expert on Zulu customs.[719]

But this expertise has, unsurprisingly, been questioned. Katy Brundan has argued that Haggard's translation of amaZulu culture for his readers was often second hand and was seen through the prism of books chronicling a long and complicated background for the amaZulu. One of Haggard's named sources was Fred Fynney's *Zululand and the Zulus* (1880) which envisioned a Middle Eastern origin for the Zulus, thereby privileging them over other Africans, albeit in a derogatory manner, arguing that they may have been the slaves of Jewish peoples.[720] Moreover, this translation was usually indirect given that his isiZulu was not fluent, and he relied on translators for complex interactions, but his fascination and the time he devoted to appreciating Zulu culture should not be disregarded.

This fascination with the martial amaZulu can be connected with ideas about the 'Imperial Barbarian' and the claiming of spiritual kinship between coloniser and colonised. This argument does have some weight and agrees with much evidence in many of Haggard's reflections on the nature of savagery and civilisation. Civilisation was deplored in much of his writing and he advocated a return to the land, and although this can be linked to more barbarous qualities such as virility, strength and directness. But these were by no means considered to be solely savage qualities and Haggard is rather linking his argument to an older notion of British life, culture and character. In *Rural England* he reflected that ongoing urbanisation was altering the population for the worse. Haggard pointed the finger squarely at 'mafficking' and, using the example of recruitment for the South African War, the decline in manners and character.

> The physique deteriorates. […] The intelligence too is changed; it is apt no longer to consider or appreciate natural things, but by preference dwells on and occupies itself with those more artificial joys and needs which are the creation of civilised money and pleasure-seeking man.[721]

[719] 9th October, 1923. Quoted in *Lives of Victorian Literary Figures*, ed by Stiebel, p. 214.
[720] See Katy Brundan, 'Translating Zulu Language and Culture', pp. 300-1.
[721] Haggard, *Rural England Vol. II*, p. 568.

Civilisation, to Haggard, led to artificiality, 'pleasure-seeking', as well as weakening the race both mentally and physically. Civilisation, whatever its benefits, was a veneer that lay on top of the savagery that made the fundamental make-up of humanity. Cities were severing man from the connection with the soil and his past was destroying this and threatening the greatness of the English race. His argument was simply that in men one part in twenty was civilised and it is the other parts which were relied upon in a crisis.[722]

But any argument about the romanticisation of, and more crucially, identification with, the supposed 'savages' underestimates the importance that Haggard attached to the hallowed idea of what made an 'English Gentleman.' This is the conclusion, not only of his novel *Allan Quatermain* as Henry Curtis records, but is also evident in Haggard's non-fiction works.[723] Sturdy honesty and independence are 'primitive virtues' implicit and explicit in much of his call for land settlement in Britain and the empire, especially as he believed they were mutually constitutive.[724] Sympathy with the 'savage' indigenous culture, and arguing that some of their traits, strength, brutality and ruthlessness, may be needed on the frontier but does not amount to an identification. Bradley Deane's argument concerning the 'Imperial Barbarian' is compelling but should not be taken too far. Although there is evidence that this identification did occur, questions need to be asked about the extent of Haggard's, or indeed many others' identification with the virtues of the barbarian. At the same time, to argue that Haggard had a 'cultural relativism' or 'an idealistic belief in the value of Anglo-African cultural rapprochement' is misguided. Despite expressing disquiet about some aspects of imperialism and praising the character of some Africans, it is inconceivable that he could view any African as the equal of an English gentleman.[725] Moreover, arguing that Haggard was truly supportive of the culture of African peoples simply disregards the nature of how colonisation of the imagination worked.[726] The psychological worldview of imperialism was more pervasive than this.

Equally though, those who accuse Haggard of a simplistic imperialist view are distorting his position. Haggard was unafraid to raise questions of white barbarity and contrast it with the many virtues he perceived in Africa. In response to a query as to which was his favourite book,

[722] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain,* pp. 12-13.
[723] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p. 319.
[724] See amongst many extracts, Haggard's evidence in *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, p. 258.
[725] Alan Sandison, *The Wheel of Empire: A study of the imperial idea in some late nineteenth century and twentieth century fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 33. Monsman, *Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier*, p. 1.
[726] Ngugi Wa Thiongo, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1986), p. 3.

Haggard replied that it was *Child of Storm* (1913) because it dealt with Allan, whom he always liked writing about, and 'of Zulus, whose true inwardness I understand by the light of nature'.[727] His fascination and belief of sympathy was genuine, but Haggard reflexively assigned himself the role of interpreter and expert on Zulu culture. Fascination blurred into condescension with remarkable ease. Whilst touring South Africa in 1914, Haggard records watching some 'girls with Hottentot blood in them, who looked pretty in their turban-like headdresses' roll some tobacco.

> As they worked these girls sang, a very sweet and plaintive native song, the men joining in from time to time. It sounded like a dirge inspired by a sense of the sadness and vanity of all things human and I confess that it delighted and moved me. Never are such songs heard in Europe. Only the dark races with age-long record of bloodshed, slavery and sorrow can conceive and utter them.[728]

Haggard's complimenting of their singing assigned a certain ancestral and thereby modern role to those 'with Hottentot blood in them'. They can create such beautiful music because of their ancient lineage and savagery. They have a certain place, and beautiful things might come out of that place, but it is firmly of the 'dark races', savage and not to be joined in with by those in Europe.

This is not to argue that Haggard was not appalled by the treatment of indigenous peoples, particularly the Zulus whom he considered to be a form of African aristocracy. In his tour of South Africa in 1914 he lamented how settlers were taking the land of Africans and apportioning it to themselves. He accused the settlers of greed and of ruling by might.[729] He argues in his first book on his experiences and views of recent events in South Africa in 1882 that,

> I could never discern a superiority so great in ourselves as to authorise us, by divine right as it were, to destroy the coloured man and take his lands. It is difficult to see why a Zulu, for instance, has not as much right to live in his own way as a Boer or an Englishman.

[727] Lilias Haggard, *The Cloak that I Left*, p. 210.
[728] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, p. 78.
[729] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, p. 239.

Haggard decried the casual brutality and callousness of the settlers in South Africa and the continual robbing of African land. Nevertheless, this passage is immediately followed by strictures on notions of racial equality.

> There is another extreme. Nothing is more ridiculous than the length to which the black brother theory is sometimes driven by enthusiasts. A savage is one thing, and a civilised man is another; and though civilised man may and do become savages, I personally doubt if the converse is even possible. But whether the civilised man, with his gin, and his dynamite, is really so very superior to the savage is another question.[730]

Haggard seems to give out contradictory messages about what he considers the British place in South Africa to be and what he believes their duties to its indigenous peoples were. He intended it to be a chivalrous ideal, hence his opposition to the taking of land and brutality, but it remained the chivalry of a civilised man to inferiors who can never attain that greatness. So, talking of the slaughter of the Zulus in 1906 during a rebellion, he reflected that 'the white man neglects or oppresses the native and slights his needs until something happens; then in a panic he sets to work and butchers him'.[731] Despite his laments, Haggard prioritised the needs of the white race in South Africa, advocating greater white settlement as he boasts of helping send white men out, despite these depredations.[732]

Conclusion

Notions of primitive virtues and the power of individual responsibility as concepts for the practice of the British Empire were compelling ones for many in imperial Britain. The image of an individual's homestead and the Englishman with his home as his castle was widely treasured. It is perhaps not surprising also in a nation which looked back to Rome's glorification of farming, that it linked the two notions of the land and of imperial 'primitive virtues' so strongly. Rider Haggard devoted the last twenty-five years of his life to English agriculture, and the uplift of spirit and manliness that he associated with a life lived upon the land. An attachment to the soil was valorised and written as a character forming embrace, in both mind and body. It was this which led him to link the empire so strongly with the movement for land reform, over considerable disagreement and opposition. Seeing the wide spaces of the

[730] Haggard, *Cetywayo and his white neighbours*, p. liii.
[731] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, p. 197.
[732] Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*, p. 234.

empire and contrasting them so sharply with the sinks of the cities in Britain, Haggard could not hesitate in advocating that emigration from an overpopulated island was the answer. This attitude was facilitated by his elision of Britain and the settler colonies. The land was there and theirs by right as well crying out for white population to develop and defend. Haggard's later work was mainly devoted to this task. He did not abandon, or even despise his novel writing, although he did consider it of increasingly lesser importance, it was simply that he thought that his agricultural work served a loftier goal. This loftier goal led him around the world on more than one occasion, meeting Presidents and Prime Ministers and securing agreements for the land from many governments in the empire.

This chapter has contended that Haggard's reputation as an adventure writer was something which he had to overcome to situate himself within serious arguments for imperial reform. But his novels also gave him a pass into these circles where he wrote upon imperial themes, praising imperial virtues, albeit to a far smaller audience than his novels. Haggard formed a prominent part of the elite discourse around land reform in the 1900s and the link with the empire which he promoted. But the arguments that he made on these issues often had corollaries for contemporary arguments on race and gender. Haggard pushed an interpretation of the qualities which Britain's empire and place in the world demanded. These were the rugged characteristics of 'primitive virtues.' As such he placed great emphasis on 'true' manliness on the frontier and the hardiness women would need in these locales. Racially, he emphasised the adventurous lineage of the English as well as the lessons which peoples in the empire, particularly the martial amaZulu, uncorrupted by modern civilisation, could teach to the British. Rider Haggard's later career as an imperial communicator showcases what was required for imperial expertise, he had lived in empire, written about a fictional version of it which shaped the imagination of many, and devoted considerable amounts of his own resources to pushing a cause: attachment to the land.

‘THE EAST WAS HIS PROVINCE’: PERCEVAL LANDON’S CAREER AS A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT AND REPRESENTATIONS OF EMPIRE

‘The East was his province and he wrote of it with rare knowledge and understanding.’ This was how, in 1955, Edward Lawson, the 4th Baron Burnham recalled Perceval Landon in *Peterborough Court*, his reminiscence and history of the *Daily Telegraph*.[733] The paper was still a family affair and he was Managing Director from 1945 onwards despite the paper being sold by the Burnham family in 1927. In these reminiscences, constructed from his personal contacts, family papers, and memories, he recalled Perceval Landon as an expert foreign correspondent on the East.

Foreign Correspondents were gaining in prominence and influence in the late Victorian period and journalists in colonial wars were becoming more frequent, although as M. H. Beals has noted the amount of imperial news in peacetime was limited.[734] The South African War (1899-1902) has often been considered of great importance in press history, especially in its imperial guises. There was a great increase in the number of correspondents reporting and the War Office, particularly through the offices of Lord Stanley, instituted more formal methods of control and censorship over their activities.[735] This is not to argue that there was little tradition of foreign or war correspondence prior to this, which there evidently was. But the South African war saw an increase in scale and organisation. This war is also often seen as representing a peak of imperial interest in Britain with newspapers, both old and new, providing wide and continuous coverage.[736] Burgeoning and apparently increasing interest in the empire demanded more journalists willing to travel that empire and report back on it as the founders of the *Daily Mail*, followed perhaps, by its competitors in the wake of its founding, appreciated.[737] The empire was being represented as more relevant to people in Britain and yet more under threat

[733] Lord Burnham, *Peterborough Court* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1955), p. 103.
[734] Roger T. Stearn, ‘War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900' in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950*, ed by John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 139-161. M. H. Beals, ‘Transnational Exchanges’ in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2: Expansion and Evolution 1800-1900* ed by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 256
[735] See for instance the preponderance of work on the South African War in Simon J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004) as well as the press dimensions of Donal Lowry (ed), *The South African War Reappraised* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)
[736] Simon J. Potter, ‘Empire and the English Press, c.1857-1914', in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain* ed by Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 55-57.
[737] Chandrika Kaul, ‘Popular Press and Empire: Northcliffe, India and the Daily Mail, 1896-1922' *in Northcliffe’s legacy: Aspects of the British Popular Press, 1896-1996* ed by Peter Catterall, Colin Seymour-Ure and Adrian Smith (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 45-70. Particularly, p. 49.

than ever before. It was a propitious time then, for Perceval Landon given this surge in interest, to launch a career as an imperial correspondent.

Landon began reporting on international politics and the influence of the British Empire at a time of increasing imperial awareness. The founding of the *Daily Mail* in 1896, the South African War and the sustained writings on colonial and imperial issues in *The Times* and other newspapers, coincided with an increased interest in the empire amongst the British public. The *Daily Telegraph* was also struggling with this competition at the turn of the century. The *Daily Mail* was undermining the paper's circulation and the reaction to this was to increase the paper's foreign and imperial coverage as well as updating its style.[738] Historians of imperialism have not given sustained treatment to the *Daily Telegraph*, although the broad outlines of its outlook on the empire and India has been charted, particularly by Chandrika Kaul.[739] Journalism was a competitive and imperially conscious business when Landon was struggling to join at the beginning of the century. Imperialist voices were gaining increased exposure and the decade of the 1900s saw numerous initiatives, from Lord Meath's Empire Day, to Robert Baden-Powell's foundation of Scouting, as well as widely publicised concerns about the health of the nation in parliamentary commissions.

Perceval Landon's writings as a foreign and imperial correspondent naturally also made him into a form of travel writer. He did not settle anywhere in the empire for long and was almost constantly on the move. He returned to Britain periodically where he had a cottage, Keylands, in the grounds of Batemans, Rudyard Kipling's estate in Sussex, from 1912.[740] Landon's writings therefore speak to many themes about the presentation and perception of the empire in Britain during these years. His close connection with Kipling, whom he met in South Africa in 1900, accompanying him on tours of the front during the First World War, also suggests his imperialist tone.[741] His writings were usually concerned with 'Great Power' politics, the competition and, in his eyes, ever-present threat of Russia on the borders, and far beyond, of the British Empire. This was a masculinist presentation of empire that presented a zero-sum game of geopolitics. The empire (and beyond) was presented as a relatively uncomplicated and

[738] Lord Burnham, *Peterborough Court*, pp. 108-112
[739] See especially, Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India c. 1880-1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 71.
[740] Rudyard Kipling – John Kipling, 16th October 1912, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. IV, 1911-1919*, ed by Thomas Pinney (Macmillan, London: 1999), p. 131.
[741] Rudyard Kipling to Caroline and Elsie Kipling, 12th August 1915, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. IV, 1911-1919*, ed by Thomas Pinney (Macmillan, London: 1999), pp. 312-316 for the announcement of the beginning of their two-week tour of the French front. Also see, The National Archives WO 372/11/236359 for his Medal Card as a War Correspondent.

ordered ground for British endeavour, themes which primarily come through when discussing the borderlands and informal empire of Nepal, Tibet and the Middle East.

In the heart of the empire Landon was also closely concerned with 'unrest.' This was particularly the case in India after the Viceroyalty of Curzon on whose side of the argument in India Landon usually placed himself. Varied Indian opposition to British rule from 1905 onwards, from strikes and demonstrations to the assassination of Curzon Wyllie in 1909, was presented as horrifying and excitingly dangerous, but he largely worked to downplay it. Landon reflects a relatively common and paternalist viewpoint of the empire as naturally beneficial. Instead, his presentation and publicisation of the empire was primarily concerned with threats to it, the viewpoints of those opposed are little considered and dismissed when they are. The empire was unproblematically British in most of his writing, what he wanted to discuss was competition and geopolitics.

Despite his wide and frequent travelling, Landon returned to London frequently, a place which he fondly recalled as home. He was rooted in a British identity, particularly an exclusively English form of this focussed on London and the South-East. Landon was an example of James Buzard's 'portable boundaries' in the way he carried his Englishness with him.[742] Landon travelled but came back to a place which he recalled in 1905 when he published an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, extolling the virtues of London recalling the 'murmuring tide of the Mother of Cities'.[743] Landon occupied a transient and intermittent place within London's society consciously constructing this identity as an expert who had travelled far and wide, but also as a patriotic Englishman across the Far East. Alan Lester has persuasively discussed aspects of the spatial formation of identity in the empire which works well for Landon's case.[744] Networked approaches are now common, but the different contexts which Landon found himself, across India and the Middle East as well as in Britain, speaks to a formation of geographical and mobile identity. Arguably, this transient position skating the surface of the empire, never settling but observing from a distance was an integral component in Landon's presentation of it as well as his own identity within it. There is also more than a hint of John Tosh's 'flight from domesticity' in Landon's persistence in imperial travelling, as well as his

[742] James Buzard, 'Portable Boundaries: Trollope, Race, and Travel', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 32:1, (2010), pp. 5-18
[743] Perceval Landon, 'LONDON.', *Fortnightly review*, Jan 1905; 77, p. 457.
[744] Alan Lester, 'Spatial Concepts and the Historical Geographies of British Colonialism' in *Writing Imperial Histories*, ed by Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 124-5.

avoidance of marriage.[745] But Landon's identity was linked to empire in what he took from it, namely his expertise and ability to present himself as an expert in Britain. His travels through the empire were formative in as much as he enjoyed travelling and the position this gave him. In Britain, his articles, as well as lectures and his other imperialist activities, place Landon, transiently but recurrently, within literary and media circles which were advocating fiercely for the special place and mission of the British Empire in the early twentieth century.[746]

This chapter focusses on Landon's travels as a correspondent and his depictions of the British Empire in 'the East', within Britain. The East was an area significant to Landon, both physically and as an overarching ideological concept.[747] Primarily because of the Empire's presence, his writing is preponderantly concerned with British actions across the Middle East, India and the Far East, not these areas in and of themselves. This depiction was of an empire under threat, partially from dissent, but predominantly from international competition. Landon and his writings are thus being used as a method of examining how the British across the empire could still imagine that empire through the lens of European competition. These press connections, and frequent movement from metropole to colony, will also speak to works such as Simon Potter's *News and the British World*.[748] A closer look at Perceval Landon's career and place within newspaper circles adds more dimensions to works such as Chandrika Kaul's publications about the media and the British Empire in India.[749] These have emphasised the importance of India in the British press, especially to a section, larger than might be thought, personally linked to India. Landon's travels also connect him to a tradition of imperial travel writers such as Isabella Bird and Mary Kingsley, albeit with a different dynamic. His writings, lyrical about local custom and scenery, were an integral part of the appeal of his journalism

[745] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999)
[746] James D. Startt, *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903-1913* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991) These communities and many wide-ranging aspects of them are discussed in Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
[747] The classic work on this remains Edward Said's, *Orientalism* (London: 1978) nevertheless this picture has been refined and deepened in numerous significant ways, especially in the literature on travel writing. See n. 18.
[748] Simon Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003)
[749] Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*. Kaul, 'Popular Press and Empire', in *Northcliffe's legacy.* Chandrika Kaul, 'Media, India and the Raj' in *Writing Imperial Histories* ed by Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 188-215. Chandrika Kaul, 'India, the Imperial Press Conferences and the Empire Press Union: The Diplomacy of News in the Politics of Empire, 1909-1946', in *Media and the British Empire* ed by Chandrika Kaul (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 125-144.

and books. They presented the empire as a tourist destination as well as an area of dramatic and noble British endeavour in competition with powers like Russia.[750]

The depiction of the empire as a dramatic stage for British action links with notions of the increasingly militaristic depiction of the empire which was gaining pace at the turn of the twentieth century. Leading from Landon's presentation of the empire in terms of international competition was the celebration of military heroes and anniversaries which was gathering pace in the early years of the twentieth century. These commemorations, of General Gordon and Captain Scott after his attempt on the South Pole, amongst many others, coupled with anniversaries of military engagements, naval displays and imperial pageants such as the 1897 Jubilee all contributed to an aura of the military might of the British Empire. Works such as Graham Dawson's and, more recently, Max Jones, on imperial heroes and the development of their afterlives in Britain emphasise the extent of interest in these figures.[751] Landon linked to this consciousness and presentation of imperial heroes in how the British empire was presented geopolitically and in competition with other world powers. Despite the globally imperial character of his writing and travelling, this also feeds into the scholarship of Jan Ruger on British notions of insularity and defensive military spending in the Navy.[752]

This investigation of Landon and the surrounding issues of imperial presentation in Britain will be pursued through three main areas. Firstly, his place within the imperialist press and its presentation of the empire as an area of imperial competition. Secondly it shall focus on Landon's output in the *Daily Telegraph* and its depictions of the empire and its frontiers as areas of competition, especially in Tibet, Nepal, and the Middle East. Finally, the presentation of the militaristic aspects of the empire is examined through his accounts of military expeditions as well as imperialist campaigns and exhibitions that he was involved with in Britain.

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[750] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992) is the classic imperial example. This has inspired numerous responses linked to rhetoric and travel writing such as David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993); *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* ed. By Steve Clark (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999)

[751] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Oxford: Routledge, 1994) Max Jones, Berny Sebe, Bertrand Taithe and Peter Yeandle (Eds), *Decolonising Imperial heroes: Cultural legacies of the British and French empires* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016) Geoffrey Cubitt, Allen Warren (Eds), *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

[752] Jan Ruger, 'Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century' in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837-1901*, ed by Miles Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 149-166.

Perceval Landon, The Imperialist Press and Presentations of International Competition

Perceval Landon worked for three self-consciously imperial newspapers through his 27 years of working as a foreign correspondent and was closely allied with this vision and mindset. The provision of foreign news was increasing at the end of the century as competition for imperial news increased thanks to the likes of the *Daily Mail*.[753] Improved communication, despite the continuing high cost of the telegraph, also helped the provision of news from across the empire and globe.[754] Further, with the increasing campaigns around the empire it is evident the political influence of the press was undiminished and even grew as the twentieth century began. Newspapers enjoyed, particularly on serious political and foreign issues, a prominent position in public debate. If not quite a 'monopoly' on communications with the general public as Stephen Koss argued, he is surely right to point out that 'alternative mass media had not yet arisen' before the First World War at least.[755] The prominence of the empire in newspapers is debated. Focussing on the preoccupations of newspaper editors, James Startt has argued that 'India was a special case and remained largely in the domain of the experts'.[756] This argument can serve as a useful corrective to the tendency to over-emphasise the prominence of imperial news, especially given the absence of much comparative work between imperial and 'other' news. But, as Kaul has observed, and parts of Landon's reportage such as that on Tibet or Indian unrest would suggest, specific episodes and issues generated a considerable amount of coverage.[757] The size of the circles which took an abiding interest in the empire and India, especially the press reports of it, should not be underestimated.[758]

Landon began his career with *The Times* and was an occasional correspondent with them for five years until, failing to secure a permanent position, he joined the *Daily Telegraph*.[759] *The Times*' interest in foreign news, always a badge of its status, was increasing in the 1890s and 1900s. A separate Foreign Department was created in 1891 to edit the submissions from the increasing numbers of correspondents and Reuters telegrams.[760] As ever, *The Times* was 'more

[753] Kaul, 'Popular Press and Empire', p. 47.
[754] Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 233-4
[755] Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain Vol. II, The Twentieth Century* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), pp. 8-9.
[756] Startt, *Journalists for Empire*, p. 4
[757] Kaul, 'Popular Press and Empire', p. 47.
[758] Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, pp. 1-3
[759] News UK archive, Managers Letter Books (2nd Series) Moberly Bell- Landon, 20th September 1901 (28:669), 14th July 1904 (31: 475); Perceval Landon – Moberly Bell, May 9th, 1903 TT/MGR/CMB/1/
[760] Brown, *Victorian News*, p. 234.

anxious to marshal opinion than to sell papers for the mere sake of selling papers'.[761] Landon's freelance work for *The Times* was the launchpad of his career and gave him an entry into the profession in the years 1900-1905. He began work as a war correspondent in South Africa, although there is evidence that this was an unstable start and Charles Moberly Bell was not overly impressed.[762] As Jacqueline Beaumont points out, while his writing talents did not lie in the direction of crisp and vivid summary, it did give him an opportunity for independent writing.[763] Landon only remained in South Africa for six months, but the contacts he had made there remained. He edited, with Rudyard Kipling, Lord Robert's newspaper, the *Bloemfontein Friend*.[764] He had also formed a working relationship with the press censor during the Boer War, Lord Stanley. This was a relationship Landon name-dropped to Moberly Bell when he was in India. Landon also wrote an article praising Lord Stanley and the later censorship during the South African war in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, just after the war ended. These links with power were ones which Landon promoted to increase his usefulness and he mentions in the same letter that he will be seeing Kitchener and Curzon in Calcutta in a few days.[765] *The Times* carried prestige that Landon sought and had strong imperialist credentials, especially from the reporting of correspondents and editors such as Flora Shaw and Valentine Chirol during the 1890s.

During 1902-3, Landon also reported for the *Daily Mail*. He sent back a series of articles on the Delhi Durbar before continuing on to Manila to report on the American occupation of the Philippines.[766] The imperial fervour of the *Daily Mail*, especially in the proprietor's, Lord Northcliffe, interest in India has been well noted.[767] Northcliffe poured time and money into the international and imperial aspects of reporting, making it the most significant after *The*

[761] Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, Vol. I, The Nineteenth Century* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981), p. 419.
[762] News UK Archive, Managers Letters books (2nd Series) 22:740 & 23:405
[763] Jacqueline Beaumont, '*The Times* at War' in *The South African War Reappraised* ed by Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 71.
[764] For this see the account by another journalist on the paper, the American, Julian Ralph, *War's brighter side: the story of "The Friend" newspaper* (New York, Appleton and Company, 1901), p. 8.
[765] News UK archive TT/MGR/CMB/1 Perceval Landon – Charles Moberly Bell, January 5th, 1904; Perceval Landon, 'War Correspondents and the Censorship', *The Nineteenth Century and After: A monthly review*; Aug 1902; 52, 306; British Periodicals pg. 327
[766] Perceval Landon, "At Delhi." *Daily Mail*, 26 Dec. 1902, p. 4. Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MiZJ1. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018; Perceval Landon. "The American Failure in the Philippines." *Daily Mail*, 6 May 1903, p. 4. Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MicT6. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[767] Chandrika Kaul, 'Popular Press and Empire: Northcliffe, India and the Daily Mail, 1896-1922' in *Northcliffe's legacy: Aspects of the British Popular Press, 1896-1996* ed by Peter Catterall, Colin Seymour-Ure and Adrian Smith (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 45-70.

Times and Reuters in a few years.[768] This had been part of the *Mail's* founding interest in the empire, with the paper being intended to be the 'embodiment and mouthpiece of the imperial idea'.[769] The attitude of the paper to overseas affairs was 'blind patriotism' and they viewed the empire very much as a 'single family' as Northcliffe's business manager with the paper, Kennedy Jones put it.[770] The *Daily Mail* was the most popular newspaper that Landon worked for. They swiftly supplanted the *Daily Telegraph* in circulation and appeal to the lower middle classes, focussing on human and patriotic interest behind imperial stories.

For the rest of his career, 1905-1927, Perceval Landon was on the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*. As has been noted, his early years were at a paper still struggling to compete with newer forms of journalism pioneered by the *Daily Mail* and others. The *Daily Telegraph* was particularly hit by the breakthrough of the *Daily Mail*.[771] The *Daily Mail*, whose circulation was close to 1 million in 1900, had an oft-described effect upon the market, one which was especially shocking to the *Telegraph* whose circulation, probably around 300,000 before its arrival, plummeted, possibly to half that.[772] Tellingly, in his memoirs, Lord Burnham entitled the period after the founding of the *Mail*, 'The Winter' and it struggled to compete.[773] Despite the competition of the 'New Journalism' and the slow pace of modernisation at the paper, the *Daily Telegraph's* circulation was maintained at a much diminished level, due to it often being considered a quality paper amongst a politically informed readership. The *Daily Telegraph* represents an important current of opinion in these years as a popular yet 'quality' journal. The paper was also becoming increasingly imperialist as the nineteenth century came to a close, faced with wide competition and an increased public interest in the empire.

The *Daily Telegraph* was a paper which had always, in its own telling, sought a middle-brow and middle of the road path. Nevertheless, as Chandrika Kaul has pointed out it often comes 'close to presenting the 'official' Conservative viewpoint' throughout this period.[774] Similarly, Koss records a leader-writer at the *Daily Telegraph* who had recently joined the staff in 1896 asking Lord Salisbury for a line to take on foreign matters, who received an 'intensely

[768] M. Palmer, 'The British Press and International News', in G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978), p. 217.
[769] R. Mcnair Wilson, *Lord Northcliffe: A study* (London: E. Benn Ltd, 1927), p. 120.
[770] Quoted in Palmer, 'The British Press and International News', pp. 217-8.
[771] Koss, *Rise and Fall, Vol. I,* pp. 358-9.
[772] Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 28. Lucy Brown, *Victorian News*, pp. 52-3.
[773] Burnham, *Peterborough Court*, p. 108.
[774] Burnham, *Peterborough Court*, p. 92. Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, p. 81.

interesting and valuable letter'.[775] These links did not diminish as the new century dawned and the *Telegraph* remained close to the Conservative Party at the start of the twentieth century. 'The Unionist Party in Microcosm' with regards to its links to Balfour, support for Tariff-reform, as well as being split between Balfour and Chamberlain with some of its key writers, as Stephen Koss has argued.[776] It had built a reputation as a serious political journal of the right through its coverage of foreign news, attempting to make this 'second to none', as Lord Burnham claimed in 1955.[777] The imperialism of the *Daily Telegraph* was closely linked to its political positioning. Controversies concerning India, such as recurring concerns over 'Indian Unrest' as well as reporting about 'the East' generally was notionally subordinated to domestic political ends, although this allowed a very broad remit. Landon's reporting was mainly focussed on Britain's Indian empire as well as the bordering states which came into considerations of the external relations of the Raj. The paper had maintained a correspondent in Calcutta from the 1880s, but Landon played a 'leading role' in the expansion of reporting for the paper in India after 1900.[778] Landon was also one of the few 'regular' correspondents in India on the staff before the First World War as there was a far greater reliance upon Reuters telegrams. This sparsity of correspondents may also go some way to explaining Landon's roving brief across 'The East'.

The personal influence of the proprietor Lord Burnham in the imperial coverage of the paper, as with the proprietors of the *Daily Mail* and many other papers, was considerable. In 1909, Burnham became the chair of the newly formed Empire Press Union (EPU) which aimed to foster increased imperial links.[779] The EPU was formed out of the Imperial Press Conference in June 1909. *The Times* commented on the 'enthusiasm' with which this idea had been greeted and praised the organisation of the conference and its aim of bringing a 'representative body' to the 'heart of the empire'.[780] The brainchild of Harry Brittain, later the Conservative MP for Acton, it brought together the press of the empire in exalted political and governing circles. The organising committee and most of the delegates were, at this date, resolutely British, although this did change and Indian representation increased, especially in the 1920s and 30s.[781] A metropolitan initiative, it brought together journalists and news agencies from India,

[775] Koss, *Rise and Fall, Vol. I*, p. 370.
[776] Koss, *Rise and Fall, Vol. II*, p. 30.
[777] Burnham, *Peterborough Court*, p. 59
[778] Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, p. 60.
[779] Kaul, 'Media, India and the Raj' in *Writing Imperial Histories*, p. 193.
[780] "The Imperial Press Conference." *Times*, 1 June 1909, p. 6. *The Times Digital Archive*, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8tFEh2. Accessed 25 Jan. 2019.
[781] Kaul, 'India, the Imperial Press Conferences and the Empire Press Union', pp. 125-6.

the Dominions as well as Crown Colonies to harness burgeoning communications technologies for the cause of imperial unity. Its ethos was, as Kaul puts it and its name would suggest, 'unashamedly imperial'. Nevertheless, as it was headed by a press proprietor, even one who was also a Lord, there was an attitude in favour of wider press freedom. The EPU, despite being founded as a London based and orientated institution, had to consider the rapidly growing number of Indian and particularly Bengali-language newspapers. Burnham claimed that the organisation knew 'no distinction of race, religion, or colour', although the balance of the imperial relationship and Anglo-Saxon models of press freedom was only likely to tilt one way.[782] This context is suggestive for the increased interest that the *Daily Telegraph* and Lord Burnham were taking in India and imperial news.

From his position with the *Daily Telegraph,* we can see that Landon was well placed within imperialist circles in Britain, albeit as a minor figure. In 1920, he received a letter from J. L. Garvin asking for his reminiscences of Joseph Chamberlain for the biography he was writing, as with searching flattery, 'you used to quote one or two phrases of his which I never heard from anybody else'.[783] This is despite the fact that Landon would have been far removed from Chamberlain and his work throughout his years in power. Nevertheless, it does indicate Landon's place within imperialist networks as an observer who met and talked to most of the players. The links that he had with George Curzon were more extensive and recurring. These are evident through Landon's time in India, serving as secretary to the Clive Memorial Fund, and as a friend in the societies which Landon addressed in London when he returned from his travels. His friendship with Rudyard Kipling was also close and enduring, renting a cottage from him as well as accompanying him on trips through wartime Europe in 1915. Perceval Landon had wide experience of the imperialist press as well as travelling and reporting from India and its environs. The three papers which he worked for all had reputations as being staunchly imperialist and conservative. This choice of newspaper and outlet for his views was not coincidental.

Militarism and Character in Perceval Landon's Global Presentation of Empire

Perceval Landon's conception and presentation of empire was closely bound up with his notions of male character and particularly military and national pageantry and patriotism.

[782] Quoted in Kaul, 'Media, India and the Raj', p. 192
[783] Churchill Archives, The University of Cambridge, Julian Amery – Perceval Landon, Oct 21st 1920. AMEJ 8/2/95

Pageantry, colonial heroes, and the military aspects of empire, were images of the representation of empire which some, such as Landon's friend Lord Curzon, were attempting to annexe to a particularly 'High Tory' vision of the empire.[784] This was highly contested in these years as visions of the empire were inevitably divergent as well as cross-party, often being energised, and instigated from the 1890s onwards, by Liberal imperialist and Unionist interventions.[785] As E. H. H. Green notes, if the Conservatives were the party of empire, they 'were open to the charge that they had not done a very good job' by the time of the South African War. Asquith's jibe about the defenders of England being unable to come from the 'rookeries and slums' was aimed just at this link between the health of the nation and empire: an empire which was struggling to produce new colonial heroes.[786] Nevertheless, the 1900s saw an attempt to reclaim this mantle. The pageantry of empire had a particular Conservative history linked to Disraeli and continued by Lords Curzon and Milner. The place of this in presenting a certain imperial image has been extensively explored by historians such as Eric Hobsbawm and David Cannadine.[787] The diamond jubilee in 1897 is the classic example of this with parades and deputations from across the globe, and pageantry, exhibitions, and public remembrance and spectacle, were increasingly an aspect of the public consumption of the empire.[788] Despite Britain's self-image as a liberal, anti-militarist society, colonial heroes were feted and naval and military displays were common and avidly followed in the press. Culturally interest in pageantry and institutions, particularly in the Royal Navy as the bulwark and pride of Britain's defence and position, was a constitutive part of imperial, masculine, identity.[789]

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[784] Max Jones, Berny Sebe, John Strachan, Bernard Taithe and Peter Yeandle, 'Introduction: Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France', in *Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Cultural legacies of the British and French Empires* ed by Max Jones, Berny Sebe, John Strachan, Bernard Taithe and Peter Yeandle (London and New York: Routledge, 2016) p .7. Richard Goebelt, 'The Memory of Lord Clive in Britain and beyond: Imperial hero and Villain' in *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* ed by Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 142-5

[785] Ian Cawood, *The Liberal Unionist Party: A History* (London: IB Tauris, 2012), pp. 73-76 For Chamberlain's role in this see T.G. Otte, 'Intimately Dependent on Foreign Policy': Joseph Chamberlain and Foreign Policy' in *Joseph Chamberlain: International Statesman, National Leader, Local Icon,* ed by Ian Cawood and Chris Upton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 17-47

[786] E. H. H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880-1914* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 77.

[787] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', and David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition", c. 1820-1977', both in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101-64, 263-307.

[788] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 97.

[789] Jan Ruger, 'Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century' in *The Victorian Empire and the Maritime World, 1837-1901,* ed by Miles Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 151; *The Great Naval Game: Britain and Germany in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 3-5; Ruger, 'Nation, Empire and Navy', pp. 159-187. M.A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 5.

Tied into these displays of Edwardian militarism is the reminder of how male the British Empire was and how skewed in terms of gender those leaving Britain were. The British in the empire were not only predominantly male, it was a masculinist project, which glorified its military heroes.[790] This focus on military prowess was becoming more prominent from the 1870s and reached a peak in the 1900s as the South African War shone a spotlight on Britain's military capabilities.[791]

The militarism which these events indicate, and in which Landon participated and celebrated, can also be linked to the Victorian conception of character. The focus on exemplary 'heroes' such as General Gordon, Admiral Nelson or John Nicholson, whose self-sacrifice and devotion to empire was a popular form of presenting the empire in India as well as in Africa as historians have discussed.[792] The notion of the 'stiff upper lip' was pervasive in the aftermath of the South African War. Militarism, character, and notions of masculinity were refashioning the imperial hero although these glorious representations were not uncontested even before the fashion for 'debunking' began with Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*.[793] But Landon, and the circle of staunch imperialists with which he could be placed, were certain that these imperial heroes represented something above the ordinary run of men, an 'active male fantasy world.'[794]

Men such as John Nicholson were evoked, 'whose name has become the centre of more romance among white people—and, by the way, of actual worship among native races—than any Englishman since the days of Drake.'[795] Nicholson's actions during the uprising of 1857 are now widely considered to be atrocities, including summary executions and his penchant for keeping the skull of a chief he had had executed on his desk, but for imperialists such as Landon, he was the man who saved British India.[796] As with Flora Annie Steel, imperialists focussed

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[790] Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), p. 5; Bill Schwarz, *White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
For the interest in heroes: Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Oxford: Routledge, 1994) Max Jones, Berny Sebe, Bertrand Taithe and Peter Yeandle (Eds), *Decolonising Imperial heroes: Cultural Legacies of the British and French empires* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)
[791] John M. Mackenzie (Ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)
[792] Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley, 2011) Berny Sebe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: British and French Colonial Heroes* (Manchester, 2013)
[793] Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1918) Max Jones, 'National Hero and Very Queer Fish': Empire, Sexuality and the British Remembrance of General Gordon, 1918–72', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2015, pp. 175–202
[794] Stephen Heathorn, 'How Stiff were their Upper Lips? Research on Late-Victorian and Edwardian Masculinity', *History Compass*, 2 (2004) BI 093, p. 4.
[795] Landon, *1857*, p. 63.
[796] Wilson, *India Conquered*, p. 255.

on India were attempting to claim one of their own for the British pantheon which often struggled to gain wide or popular traction in Britain. Nevertheless, this publicisation of British heroes was part of the historicisation of British India, replete with daring and wonder which accompanied the canonisation of heroes. Nevertheless, as Peter Yeandle has argued, there is a question over the purpose of this canonisation.[797] It was not solely intended to create children and men like Clive. Instead, they served a purpose to heroise the elite and many of the children or observers of these histories and statues were intended to idolise but not emulate these heroes. The masses, the pedestal on which these heroes rested, were intended to look up to heroes and recognise their virtues in the current 'master spirits of the English race' which Curzon and Landon put forward.[798]

Landon, and many others, complained that these heroes, particularly John Nicholson and Robert Clive who had created British India, as well as the rest of the empire, were often neglected in Britain as well as India, 'this statue-laden country' and saw their task as being one which righted this wrong.[799] Thomas Metcalf has also pointed out how the military aspect of imagining empire was being accentuated in India with a particular focus on military heroes during Curzon's Viceroyalty.[800] Further clues about his imperial outlook can be seen by the close link he had to the image-conscious Lord Curzon throughout his life. Curzon's Viceroyalty was an exemplar of high imperial pageantry who was closely involved in a grand and military tradition of British imperialism and Landon wrote firmly in this vein. This link between pageantry, military heroes, character, and an increasingly militaristic conception and presentation of the empire was often pursued and blended. Rather than the image of the blundering army on the veldt or the punitive expedition, Landon, in tandem with a wider cultural burnishing of the image of the military, presented a picture of a competent military which embodied the British nation.[801] This was performed through newspapers and books, as well as the speeches and campaigns for different aspects of imperial memory and imagination such as that for the Clive statue, the Delhi Durbar, or the war in South Africa.

Perceval Landon enthusiastically participated in this pageantry and the game-like presentation of empire. Never married, Landon took full part in the masculinist and homosocial aspects of

[797] Peter Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire: The Politics of History Teaching in England, 1870-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 124-6.
[798] "Lord Curzon On Clive." *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1907, 14.
[799] Landon, *Under the Sun*, pp. 57-8 for ruminations on the neglect of Nicholson and Clive
[800] Metcalf, *Forging the Raj*, p. 153.
[801] Steve Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 69.

life and these informed much of the worldview which he presented in his writings. As Landon began his career as a war correspondent for *The Times* in South Africa in 1900, he developed friendships, with Rudyard Kipling in particular, which lasted throughout his life. During his time in South Africa he saw and reported on the action with the gusto and literary enthusiasm of the public-school boy. Reflecting a contemporary trend for depicting the engagements in terms of sporting events, he depicted spectacular derring-do, personal rivalry between the British General, Sir John French and Piet Cronje, brilliant tactics and forced marches.[802] As he put it 'the imagination quickens at the picture' of the race as French's forced advance which the Boers had presumed to be impossible. Landon presented a miniature of the war, which was engaged in with 'sporting regret that it had become necessary'.[803] In this the forces could be considered equal, or even with the British as the obvious underdogs rather than the reality of an empire fighting and struggling against a vastly smaller force.[804] Instead of the drawn-out war, tarnished even for many supporters by the brutality of the concentration camps, there is a focus on exciting manoeuvre and dashing battle. Landon depicts the 'race against time' of a 'great flanking movement' which defeated the Boers almost by its grandeur alone, their minds being overwhelmed.[805] He devotes a considerable section at the beginning of this article to elaborating the superstitions of the Boers and their excessive interest in religion to characterise the enemy.[806] This article represents the war as a boyish competition with an extremely superstitious foe, one which was won by pluck and brilliant feats. Nevertheless, Landon also appears to have suffered from mental health issues as a result of his time in South Africa, no matter the rose tint he applied in retrospect. Leo Amery, a fellow *Times* journalist in South Africa and working on his history of the war, for which he asked Landon to contribute, reported this to Charles Moberly Bell in May 1900.[807] 'Poor L is an awful wreck' and he asked Bell to

[802] See in particular his depiction of the advance of John French to Paardeberg which he wrote recalling the South African War in 1902, Perceval Landon, 'TO PAARDEBERG.', *Fortnightly review*, Sep 1902; 72, 429; British Periodicals pg. 485
[803] Landon, 'Paardeberg', p. 486.
[804] Brad Beaven, *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 75. Records this reporting in local newspapers and letters home from soldiers.
[805] Landon, 'Paardeberg', *Fortnightly Review*, p. 489.
[806] Landon, 'Paardeberg', *Fortnightly Review*, pp. 485-487.
[807] Peter Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present* (Liverpool: Liverpool University press, 2013), p. 139.

'treat him kindly' and find him some room in the office to work on his History of the war in South Africa.[808]

Perhaps because of the experience of war, traumatised but thrilled by the experience; Landon sought out military expeditions and surroundings. In India and close to the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, he was attached to the Younghusband expedition in 1903-4 as the official historian and correspondent for *The Times*. On the mission to Tibet, Landon evidently became close to the officers, with many contributing to the book he published from it.[809] In *Lhasa*, Landon pursued the drama of the military expedition, praising the officers and soldiers. Chapters such as 'Fight at the Wall', 'Forcing the way to Gysntse' and 'Attacked by the Tibetans' narrate in vivid language the fighting in the expedition. These narratives pitted martial and heroic Britons, Sikhs and Gurkhas against foolish and weak Tibetans who had been 'forced to the front by lamas in Lhasa'.[810] This fighting was something Landon enthused about to Moberly Bell in letters back to London, describing how they were 'bombarded night & day' and surrounded like they were in a 'miniature Gibraltar'.[811] The drama of fighting was undoubtedly part of a newspaper correspondent's duty as well as an essential part of a book describing a military expedition. Nevertheless, Landon was often concerned to present these military altercations in a certain light which emphasised the nature of the empire he was presenting. One with strong military men and proud to be so.

This interest in military service and the events and memorials surrounding it was part of how the empire was increasingly presented in Britain. Landon, with the *Daily Telegraph*, was the organiser of a parade and grand dinner in London in December of 1907 for the survivors of the Indian rebellion of 1857. Publishing notices to trace the survivors of the conflict as well as tracing records, this was to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1857 rebellion and, with Lords Roberts and Curzon in attendance, was meant to honour the heroism of the soldiers. The 50th anniversary saw a flurry of interest in the Indian Rebellion, maintained between 1900 and

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808 Leo Amery – Charles Moberly Bell, 2nd May 1900. News UK archive, TT/MGR/CMB/1 For more on *The Times* in South Africa and Landon's role see, Jacqueline Beaumont, *'The Times* at War' in *The South African War Reappraised* ed by Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 67-83. This is a project which Landon, due to Amery's tight editorial control, did not find particularly congenial, complaining of 'complete "Ameryisation"' in the chapter on the battle of Magersfontein. Churchill College, Leopold Amery Papers, AMEL 1/1/11, Landon to Amery, 15th February 1901.

809 Note the full title of, Perceval Landon, *Lhasa; an account of the country and people of central Tibet and of the progress of the mission sent there by the English government in the year 1903-4; written, with the help of all the principal persons of the mission* (London, Hurst & Blackett, 1905) Numerous appendices were written by Captain W.F.T. O'Connor, and Captain J Walton. It is introduced by Frank Younghusband and Landon records his debt to other members of the expedition in the text

810 Landon, *The Opening of Tibet*, p. 86. The chapters are V, VI and VIII.

811 News UK Archive, Landon-Bell, Gyantse, May 9th 1904. TT/MGR/CMB/1

the First World War.[812] Lord Burnham who attended the dinner at the Albert Hall aged seventeen, recalled in his memoirs that Lord Curzon, gave 'one of the greatest speeches of his life'. Continuing in this vein, Burnham argued that this campaign and the dinner at the Albert Hall was the 'most dramatic' of the functions organised by the newspaper.[813] The *Daily Telegraph* sent out notices and solicited information in order to track down the survivors and Landon wrote an account of the year, focussing heavily on Indian atrocities and British heroism and vengeance. Landon's argument in this was that 'we are a race forgetful by instinct' and although he praises the commitment to progress Britain should take more time to remember its heroes.[814] Describing the event for veterans he argues that this commemoration was of 'one of the brightest pages in our history' and the honour paid to veterans 'will make the blood of every veteran in England course more warmly'.[815] His book, as well as narrating the events of 1857 in glowing, imperial terms was meant to be a record of the surviving soldiers. Three copies in the British Library have all been annotated, updating and correcting the list of surviving soldiers with newspaper cuttings of veteran's deaths. This level of interest and care demonstrates an interest in accounts of the war for veterans of 1857 itself as well as for subsequent soldiers serving in India.[816] One of the books was presented to a Colonel who served in India, Sir Neville Chamberlain, who Landon contacted to be 'in charge of the arrangements for the parade of the Mutiny Veterans' and attend the subsequent dinner on December 23rd, 1907.[817] These annotations betray a continuing preoccupation with the memory of the greatest military shock to Britain's Empire of the century. Veterans and society were increasingly obsessed with the memory of the Indian rebellion as can be traced by the tide of publications, both fictional and non-fictional, about 1857 from the 1890s onward.[818]

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[812] For instance, G. B. Malleson, T*he Indian mutiny of 1857* (London: Seeley & co. 1891), Charles John. Griffiths, *A narrative of the siege of Delhi with an account of the mutiny at Ferozepore in 1857*, (London: John Murray, 1910) John Walter Sherer, *Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny; personal experiences of 1857*. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1910) W.H. Fitchett, *The Tale of the Great Mutiny* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1906) Louis Tracy, *The Red Year: A Story of the Indian Mutiny* (New York: E.J.Clode, 1906)

[813] This was held on 23rd December 1907. Burnham, *Peterborough Court*, p. 140.

[814] Perceval Landon, *"1857": in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Indian mutiny: with an appendix containing the names of the survivors of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men who fought in India in 1857.* (London: W.H. Smith, 1907) British Library, Asia, Pacific & Africa RL 109 Asia, Pacific & Africa T 2800., p. 5.

[815] Landon, *1857*, p. 7.

[816] Landon, *1857*. British Library, MSS EUR A59/4, MSS Eur A180 & Asia, Pacific & Africa RL 109. One of these was kept by a Brigade surgeon in Madras, who served during 1857, Henry Elmsley Busteed who criticised the list as 'very incomplete'

[817] MSS Eur A180 – Chamberlain annotated this book, inscribed the front page recalling the pleasant dinner and pasted the letter from Landon onto the final page.

[818] Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 3.

India's place within the pageantry and imaginary of empire, which Curzon had done so much to refine, was of abiding interest to Landon. When, in 1903, he went to the Delhi Durbar for the *Daily Mail*, sending back a series of articles entitled "On the road to Delhi" and "At Delhi".[819] In these articles, Landon betrayed an imperial anxiety that Britain, fresh from the South African War, was not living up to its imperial promise. He recorded that 'the air of India is heavy with expectation' for the splendour of the ceremony. Landon, despite reporting that everything was going well, worried that the 'gorgeous ceremonial of East and West may be flawed, soiled, ruined'. The pageantry was a presentation of empire, that even for enthusiasts, could be marked with worries about inadequacy and flaws. But, more often, underneath the veneer of anxiety, Landon was boasting of Britain's imperial skill. He revealed in the first "At Delhi" article that it was the standard which Britain had set which was difficult, 'the show must go forward, and there must be no falling off from the magnificent standard that is foreshadowed in each new detail'.[820] Landon collected proclamations and programmes from the Durbar, sending them back to the British Museum as a record of the imperial events for posterity. He wrote in the letter covering the collection, 'as this cheap service is the least that anyone, who is as grateful to the museum as I am, can perform.' Seeing the imperial performance as significant in the history of British India, and attempting to curry favour with the museum, Landon reports that he thought that 'probably no one else would think of sending you the various publications'.[821] Insecure in his freelance work for both the *Times* and *Daily Mail* at this point, Landon was looking for, and did secure an interest from, the museum to support him at least during his mission to Tibet.[822]

In *Under the Sun*, published in 1906, Landon notes the absence of any memorial, 'even an obelisk', to Clive in India.[823] This remembrance of Clive in a softer light, rather than condemning the rapacity, corruption and brutality of the East India Company gathered steam in the second half of the nineteenth century. Often condemned in the public eye after his return as a 'nabob' who became rich by exploiting India, the practices of the East India Company often sat uneasily with a view of empire as something with a much higher purpose.[824]

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[819] Perceval Landon, "On the Road to Delhi." *Daily Mail*, 27 Nov. 1902, p. 4. Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8Miae5. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. Subsequent articles appeared on 29th Nov, 4th Dec, 22nd Dec, 26th Dec and 2nd Jan 1903.
[820] Perceval Landon, "At Delhi." *Daily Mail*, 26 Dec. 1902, p. 4. Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MiZJ1. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[821] Letter on January 15th, 1903 contained within the folio book in the British Library, A collection of proclamations, programmes, ticks and other material connected with the Delhi Durbar, 1903
[822] News UK Archive. TT/MGR/CMB/1, Jan 5th 1904 Perceval Landon – Charles Moberly Bell.
[823] Landon, *Under the Sun*, pp. 57 & 157.
[824] Goebelt, 'The Memory of Lord Clive' pp. 137-9.

Nevertheless, praise for Clive's military success and contribution to the foundation of the British Empire in India was becoming more common.[825] In April of 1907, Lord Curzon began a campaign for a statue of Clive to be erected in London outside the India Office and in his own state in India.[826] Landon, back in Britain before beginning a tour of Central Asia, acted as the secretary to this fund. Clive could be seen in the conservative imagination as a figure whose brilliance inaugurated Britain's empire and was then neglected as not 'for half a century after his death was even meagre justice done to him in the avenging page of history'. In the letter to *The Times* with which Curzon began the campaign, Clive was compared to Caesar and Alexander in the empire whose foundations he 'planted'.[827] Curzon was also deeply concerned thereafter about the reception to the campaign in newspapers both in Britain and India. He complained of Minto's response in a letter to the Liberal Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, but, in two letters on the 28th April, 1907, argued that the Bengal press were bound 'to attack the proposal' and wondered 'what are the Anglo-Indian papers responses?'[828] The statue of Clive was about creating and publicising a completely different narrative of Indian history.

The campaign raised concerns for the Viceroy of India, Lord Minto. The campaign to memorialise Clive was a key part of the imagining of the history of British India which Curzon pioneered as Viceroy. Lord Minto resented Curzon's continuing interference which he brought before the Indian Council. Here, in a remarkable display of discord between current and former Viceroys, which inevitably became more widely known, he argued that Curzon's Viceroyalty had left 'a legacy of bitter discontent' in India and memorialising Clive was likely to be seen as inflammatory.[829] In a letter to Morley, Curzon opposed this, citing the donations from the 'Maharajas of Deceaber' and the 'Nawabs of Bahadeer and Mushidibad' he argued, 'how is it possible to contend in the face of such evidence that a Clive memorial is an outrage either upon Hindu or Mahommedan feeling?'[830] Curzon was arguing that his more overtly imperialist conception of Indian history and the British invasions of the eighteenth century were part of new narrative, and one that he was attempting to make holistically, a common history of Briton

[825] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 153.
[826] CURZON. "The Commemoration of Lord Clive." Times, 8 Apr. 1907, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8ytP40. Accessed 4 Feb. 2019; CURZON. "Clive Memorial Fund." Times, 27 May 1907, p. 8. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/67qVN1. Accessed 12 Mar. 2018.
[827] CURZON. "The Commemoration of Lord Clive." Times, 8 Apr. 1907, p. 6. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8ytP40. Accessed 4 Feb. 2019.
[828] Weston Library, The University of Oxford, John Morley papers, MS. Eng. D3567/95 & 97-100.
[829] British Library, Mss Eur D573/12, f86: 12 Sep 1907
[830] Weston Library, The University of Oxford, John Morley papers, Curzon-Morley, 25th July, 1907 MS. Eng. D3567/140 This letter from May 1907 can be seen in the British Library, Mss Eur F112/510

and Indian. But the response to the fund was strained for most Indian Princes who only contributed under 'most undue pressure' as Minto was well aware.[831] Indian Princes were caught between the Government in India, a former Viceroy, and the opinions of many Indians, expressed strongly in the press, opposing the memorialisation of Clive and Plassey. The Maharajah of Jaipur made this point as delicately as he could in replying to Curzon's appeal, citing government opposition but expressing personal support. Similarly, The Maharaja of Bahadur, Jatindramohan Tagore, whom Curzon claimed as a supporter, evidently felt pressured in a letter to Curzon as he argued that he could not support the campaign due to the 'feeling among the majority of my countrymen' but that his son, Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore, had donated as a private individual.[832]

Minto himself was also caught between the evident Indian reluctance to fund a statue to Clive, the publicity and popularity of Curzon's campaign in Britain and certain sections of British India, as well as Curzon's interference in Indian governance. Minto was adamant that Curzon had launched his appeal without consulting him, creating an image of discord in the government.[833] But Minto was also working to manage relations with the Indian population in a more conciliatory fashion. 1907 had already been marked by unrest across India, where Minto noted, rather than fund a memorial to a British conqueror, there were threats in the Indian press to do something to 'perpetuate the memory of Siraj-ud-Daulah on the anniversary of Plassey' instead.[834] There was deep concern about this reaction and, as James Dunlop Smith, Minto's private Secretary, reported to Curzon 'not only on the part of the rabid press, but among the sober sections of the Mussulman community, and this confirmed him (Minto) in his opinion that the plea for support to the Memorial should be confined to the United Kingdom'.[835]

Imperial memorialisation in India and Britain was becoming grander and more militaristic as Curzon and others presented the British invasion as simply another in a wave of many which India had suffered and therefore an integral part of Indian society and history.[836] When the statue was built it, as Jon Wilson notes, depicted the violence of Clive's campaigns in the

[831] British Library, Mss Eur D573/12, f72: Minto- Morley. 29 Aug 1907
[832] Both of these letters are in the British Library, Mss Eur F112/513, 14th November 1907 & 19th December 1907.
[833] Lord Minto – Lord Morley, British Library Mss Eur D573/12, f81: 4 Sep 1907. This became a protracted dispute as it came before the Indian Council and Curzon asserted that his communications to Morley, which were passed on to Minto, should have sufficed. British Library, F111/449
[834] British Library, F111/449/19-20
[835] British Library, F111/449/40-41
[836] Metcalf, *Forging the Raj*, p. 175.

cannons around the base.[837] Curzon assumed that there would be opposition to this from the native press, who were seen as rabble rousers, but he attempted to combat this perception in a speech at Clive's old school, Merchant Taylor's, citing the contributions of Indian Princes.[838] Curzon's influence as a former Viceroy made opposing a move, which seemed to Minto militaristic and liable to provoke bad feeling in India, difficult. Landon himself communicated frequently with Curzon, reporting subscriptions. He also wrote an appeal for the fund in India, published in *The Englishman*, in which he refuted Minto's allegations against Curzon. Quoting the support of the Maharaja of Benares, Landon argued that the fund was cross-party, necessary, and in the words of the Maharaja, 'we owe a debt to Clive which we cannot afford to forget' for ending the 'internal dissensions and external depredations'.[839] The statues were eventually built, in India and Britain, and the fund raised over £5000. Nevertheless, the pace was slow and opposition, especially in India, was strong where Curzon's brand of imperialism had 'few allies'.[840] Perceval Landon remained the secretary of the fund despite his travels, and frequently wrote publicly and privately in support of it. As can be seen from his work with the fund as well as his closely contemporaneous writings on India in *Under the Sun* and his journalism more widely, he was a staunch supporter of the imperial reading of Clive's importance, narrating this glorious history of British India.

The Travels of an Imperialist Foreign Correspondent: The Presentation of International Competition

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed a shift in what Felix Driver has termed 'Geography Militant'. This was hailed by Halford Mackinder as well as Joseph Conrad and others as the age of the explorer passed and shifted into something new and more akin to tourism.[841] As much of the globe seemed to be explored, it came to tourists and publicists to make the world more present to Western eyes. Travelogues and journalism on empire and its frontiers abounded, indeed Lord Curzon observed in his 1907 lecture on the subject that,

[837] Jon Wilson, *India Conquered: Britain's Raj and the Chaos of Empire* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2017), p. 225.
[838] "Lord Curzon On Clive." *Times*, 14 Dec. 1907, p. 14. The Times Digital Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/ tinyurl/67qda6. Accessed 12 Mar. 2018.
[839] This was sent to Morley by an incensed Lord Minto. See British Library, Minto to Morley, Mss Eur D573/12, f81: 4 Sep 1907. The letter to the editor of *The Englishman*, a paper in Calcutta, India, appeared on 2nd September.
[840] Wilson, *India Conquered*, p. 389.
[841] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 199-200.

'Frontiers are the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace'.[842] One of Landon's first publications, *Lhasa,* was with one of the last expeditions which, albeit with a punitive military purpose, was travelling to the 'unknown', or at least mysterious, to the western imaginary. With the world explored, Landon worked to publicise his vision of empire. His travels were presented to increase awareness of empire and the competition with which it was inevitably concerned, he wrote, in books and articles, of the edges of empire, where Britain was still pushing forward.

The representation of states in terms of military power and pageantry lends a competitive edge to the representation of empire. This was particularly the case in the febrile international climate preceding the First World War. This militaristic conception of empire was one which shaded into concerns about Great Power competition in many of the borderlands of the British Empire in which Landon travelled. Having worked for *The Times*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph* whilst travelling across the empire and beyond it, as well as accompanying a punitive expedition, Landon was well placed within imperialist networks. He travelled, as a foreign correspondent, through the British Empire, and far beyond in areas where the 'imperialism of Free Trade' and the pretensions of 'British interests' prevailed such as in the Middle East, and Nepal.[843] Throughout his career, Landon was closely concerned with the relations between the British Empire and these states. These states, bordering the British Empire and vulnerable to its adventuring and often interferingly paternal interference, have their own place within British imperial imaginaries. They were just beyond the red on the map and were, like Tibet and Nepal, two places which Landon wrote about extensively, mythologised as lands where white men had seldom set foot. These border kingdoms to the British Empire were such an intense topic of British and Landon's interest, because it was the ground upon which the Great Game was played. Competition with other 'Great Powers' and Russia in particular, was a considerable aspect of how these 'small' nations were presented.[844]

Turning to consider how Landon's writings, particularly in relation to these borderlands, Nepal, Tibet, China, and the Middle East but also in his voluminous writings about India, demonstrates

[842] Lord Curzon, *The Romanes Lecture: Frontiers Delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford November 2, 1907* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), p. 7.
[843] Informal Empire has long been recognised in practice, but its place within the metropolitan imperial imagination is varied and uncertain. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *The Economic History Review*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1953, pp. 1–15.
[844] Georgios Varouxakis, 'Great Versus Small Nations*:* Size and National Greatness in Victorian Political Thought', in *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and Relations in 19th Century Political Thought,* ed by Duncan Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 136-158.

how often these areas, unlike the settler colonies, were seen through the prism of power politics. Any single frame of reference is difficult to consider with these countries which differed widely in the way in which they were depicted and the long histories of their imagination in Britain. Nevertheless, there are many commonalities in how they were depicted by British journalists who often saw cultural differences across 'the East' as little more than local colour. As a journalist and a traveller across much of Southern Asia during the early twentieth century, Landon can be usefully placed in the frame of the travel writer, although his writings tend to be more political in their focus.[845] He was aloof, transient, and touristic in his gaze. His work with indigenous people in these countries was only necessitated through interviews rather than the grind of daily work. They were the soldiers who, on occasion, escorted him and held an umbrella over him while he painted in watercolour, they were the workers in the bazaar, the farmers in the fields, or the Maharajah who hosted him.[846] Nevertheless, it was this aloof viewpoint which was presented frequently in Britain, the emphasis of separation between Briton and foreigner.

An enduring theme of the colonial traveller 'on the spot', enthusiastic for the glory of the empire, was the presumed indifference, penny-pinching, and obstructive nature of the India Office in Whitehall. Perceval Landon, from his sniping at the India Office during the Younghusband expedition, to his condemnation of the Anglo-Russian convention, was convinced that the true interests of the empire were not served by politicians in London.[847] In his account of the expedition to Tibet, he criticised the 'home government' who 'were as yet far from understanding the urgency of the matter'. Instead, the only person who understood things was Lord Curzon who 'with characteristic decision' authorised the expedition.[848] Even before the expedition took place, Landon condemned the 'embarrassed cabinet in London' which would not take the 'golden opportunities' which the 'standing luck of the British Empire'

[845] Histories of travel writing do indicate different ways in which areas beyond the empire could be presented for those back in Britain. For instance, Tim Youngs, 'Introduction: Filling the Blank Spaces' in *Travel writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*, ed by Tim Youngs (London: Anthem press, 2006), pp. 1-18. Pratt, *Imperial eyes;* and James Buzard's 'portable boundaries' also offers an interpretative framework for the position of the British in these lands although it does over-emphasise the strength of these boundaries which were often shifted and shaped by the experiences of empire.
[846] Perceval Landon, *Nepal* (London: Constable, 1928), pp. 11 & vii
[847] For instance, see Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1993) This is a theme frequently echoed across the empire and also by the other figures in this thesis, particularly Flora Shaw and Flora Annie Steel. It was a serious concern of Frederick Lugard's in West Africa and his formulation of Indirect Rule.
[848] Landon, *Opening of Tibet*, p. 27.

dropped into its lap.[849] A decade after, in an article on 'Tibet, China, and India', Landon evidently stands by this characterisation of the inability of the Unionist government in London until 1905 to fully understand. Although he does give credit to the 'present Cabinet' for their 'foresight and decision' on the Indian frontier, a position which Landon expresses surprise with, unused to writing in support of the Liberals. But, harking back to his own experience with political actions during the Tibetan expedition, he argues that it 'was beginning to feel the weakness of the hand behind the eternally active pen in the India Office at home'.[850] This pen was one which, Landon felt, wrote much, but did little and what it wrote was insufficiently 'forward' in its imperialism. This perception of political neglect from London was not confined to their actions over Tibet.

Landon keenly expressed his horror at the Anglo-Russian agreement which has 'bought a few years of quiet at the cost of finding our enemy at their close under arms and at our very doors.' Landon was moved to ask, 'how his Majesty's Foreign Secretary can have been so grossly ignorant of the things that belong unto the peace and prosperity of India.'[851] This was a standing belief in much of the imperial community, although there was undoubtedly some of Lord Curzon's influence in this argument. Landon sent Curzon a letter discussing the commemoration dinner and the Anglo-Russian Convention with him, criticising it for limiting British freedom of movement and asking, 'is this your reading of the agreement?'[852] Landon espied an aristocratic contact and imperially connected boon to his career and worked to maintain it. But more broadly, Landon reflected the view that the only ones who truly understood the empire were those who had gone out and lived and worked in it. This was why it was so crucial that this viewpoint was presented in Britain. Politicians were too wrapped up in their own concerns and domestic squabbles to truly work for the furtherance of the British Empire. It was this viewpoint from the man 'on the spot' or, at the very least talking to him, that Landon was attempting to present.

India, and the threat of Russian encroachment on it, is a constant theme in Landon's writings. From intrigues in Tibet which justified the Younghusband expedition in 1903-4 to 'the land forbidden' of Nepal, to German or Russian investments in 'Mesopotamia' which threatened

[849] Perceval Landon, 'A REMNANT OF BUDDHA'S BODY' *The Nineteenth century and after: a monthly review;* Aug 1901; 50, 294; British Periodicals pg. 237
[850] Perceval Landon, 'TIBET, CHINA, AND INDIA.' *Fortnightly review*, Oct 1912; 92, 550; British Periodicals pg. 655
[851] Perceval Landon, 'VIEWS ON THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT.', *Fortnightly review*, Nov 1907; 82, 491; British Periodicals pp. 726-735 Quotes on pp. 732 & 730.
[852] British Library, MSS EUR F112/513, 28th December, 1907

the Persian Gulf, the crucial route to India, and threats to India on the North-western frontier, Russian threats were numerous.[853] The context in which Landon's first journalistic break came, the expedition to Tibet surrounded by military personnel was crucial in this. Landon was far from being alone in this estimation of the threat of Russia, especially in the years before the First World War.[854] The latter half of the 1900s saw a considerable rise in military spending which was often matched and encouraged by the military's and conservative press's characterisation of potential threats.[855] It is in the areas just beyond the red on the map, where these threats were often assumed to germinate, their uncontrollability stoking fears of foreign competition, which Landon made a speciality of explaining to his audience. In 1909, in an article on the 'Indian Frontier', Landon mused on how the number of 'forbidden lands' seemed to be increasing rather than diminishing. Despite the expansion of Western power, Landon worried about the influence of Britain in Nepal and Tibet, especially as he saw the policy of successive governments as thrusting Tibet under Chinese 'authority.' The latent power of China was one which he took very seriously as he worried about Chinese attempts to assert their suzerainty in Nepal and Bhutan.[856] Russian and Chinese influence were presented as persistent background menaces to the security of British India, unknown and sinister machinations were happening just beyond the borders of the known, the empire. This was a cardinal aspect of much travel writing, making the unmapped, and the unknown to Europeans, intelligible. Landon characterised these areas as exciting and dangerous, but also as areas of British influence and interest.

This section, using case studies from Landon's writings on Tibet, Nepal, opposition to British rule in India, the Middle East, and China considers the international and imperial ramifications in his writings as well as his support for views and opinions from 'on the spot.'

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The first, and for Landon's career, most dramatic of these frontier lands, was Tibet. British interest in Tibet, both in India and domestically, was motivated by the mix of thwarting the

[853] *Basra and the Shatt ul Arab - Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 63, No. 3257 (April 23, 1915), pp. 505-519; "Nepal: The Land Forbidden." *Daily Telegraph*, 19 Jan. 1925, p. 5. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http:// tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEWN7. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.
[854] Alex McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), p. xx.; John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), pp. 249-50.
[855] The competition and rhetoric which surrounded this is explored in Jan Ruger, *The Great Naval Game: Britain and Germany in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
[856] Perceval Landon, "Indian Frontier." *Daily Telegraph*, 9 Mar. 1909, p. 13. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWfv9. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

Russians, coupled with, crucially, the excitement of a new, mystical land.[857] Tibet was presented by *The Times* correspondent, Valentine Chirol as being of great international importance when he accused Germany and Russia of having an agreement directed against Britain, especially in the Far East.[858] This article, "Russia and Germany: A Far-Eastern Understanding" came on the heels of the Anglo-Tibetan treaty concluded in the wake of the expedition. It inflamed European tensions and indicated just how fraught the areas between the British Empire in India and Russia were considered to be in London. This indication of international intrigue, especially when coupled with the tales of the Siberian Buddhist, 'Dorjieff' focussed great attention on Tibet. After the expedition it emerged that this man, Avgan Dorzhiev, was simply a monk in Lhasa, albeit one with Russian connections and Tibet's overtures to Russia, although real, were not as significant as they were in the British imagination. But the vagueness of the information and the remoteness of Tibet were coupled in the British mind. Much of the mythologisation of Tibet was carried out before the First World War, although the notion of Shangri-la came later, but its remoteness, proximity to the Himalayas, and hostility to outside visitors generated deep interest. The mystery of Tibet was especially captivating for making the Younghusband expedition a subject of great interest in Britain. Orville Schell has described the wide 'corpus of romantic transferences' which has 'continuously fired the imagination of Western escape artists'.[859] Tibet had been beyond British exploration and trade throughout the nineteenth century and the attempts at exploration had been limited by Tibetan refusals. Landon recounted the attempts at trade and exploration in his introduction. As the official historian of the Younghusband expedition, this was the highest profile work Landon was ever involved in. He sent reports back for *The Times*, wrote a book, and gave lectures at the Royal Society and British Academy.[860] As Gordon Stewart has pointed out, *The Times*, with Landon's despatches, presented the expedition 'in the style of a serial adventure story.' Lhasa was commonly described as the 'Forbidden City' and there were half-page maps and lengthy descriptions of the city and the military adventures necessary to get to

[857] The frisson of seeing an unseen city in Lhasa was a key part of this appeal as the reviews of Lhasa testify, 'Lhasa: An Account of the Country and People of Central Tibet and ...' *The Edinburgh review*, 1802-1929; Apr 1905; 201, 412; British Periodicals pg. 338. Lhasa. *The Athenaeum*; Feb 25, 1905; 4035; British Periodicals pg. 231

[858] *The Times*, September 14th, 1904. "Russia and Germany: A Far-Eastern Understanding" *The History of The Times, Vol. III The Twentieth Century Test, 1884-1912* (London: The Times, 1947), pp. 396-8.

[859] Orville Schell, *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La from the Himalayas to Hollywood* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), p. 16.

[860] THE CONVERSAZIONE OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY. *The Athenaeum*; May 27, 1905; 4048; British Periodicals pg. 662; Court Circular." *Times*, 4 Mar. 1905, p. 12. *The Times Digital Archive*, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWGo6. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

it.[861] There was supposed regret in Landon's reporting and *The Times* editorial of 8th August at the opening up of 'one of the few places on the earth round which still hangs something of the romance of mystery and inviolability.'[862]

Nevertheless, the government's reaction to the expedition was far from enthusiastic. When Younghusband returned to Britain in December 1904, it was not to a hero's welcome, despite the public interest, but to the mild irritation and indifference of a government which had moved on and attempted to repudiate Younghusband's actions. Similarly, Curzon was by this stage deeply concerned with getting his Viceroyalty renewed and the expedition to Lhasa was not the glittering recommendation he needed.[863] Instead, he looked to the British position in the Gulf and domestic Indian matters to burnish his credentials, albeit without success. Retrenchment in foreign adventures was deemed to be the new imperative. In the years following the expedition the government tended to follow a policy of reducing British involvement in Tibet, the expedition had made its point.[864] But the defence of the government's actions still worked with this mysterious image of Tibet clashing with the modernity of British arms. Lord Oranmore and Browne, defending the government and responding to the King's speech noted that 'the expedition naturally created much interest in the public mind' instead, due to the nature of Tibet, 'it was something much more serious, and much more wonderful than that […] into Tibet the mystical, the Mysterious, of which strange travellers' tales were told.'[865]

In *Lhasa*, his account of the Younghusband expedition to Tibet in 1903-4, Perceval Landon, as the official *Times* correspondent, took pains to justify the British attack, recounting the intrigues of 'Dorjieff', the 'single man [who] began the trouble which eventually made the expedition necessary'. Nevertheless, Landon describes the, in many ways, 'entirely laudable' and 'far-sighted' attempts by Russia to gain influence in the region which had been amplified by British paranoia.[866] Tibet was simply the casualty of a perfectly legitimate conflict of interests between Great Powers. Landon worked on a conception of international politics which

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[861] Gordon T. Stewart, *Journeys to Empire: Enlightenment, Imperialism, and the British Encounter with Tibet, 1774-1904* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 241. See *The Times*, 6th August, 1904, p. 4; August 8th, p.3.
[862] *The Times*, 8th August 1904, p. 7.
[863] Anthony Verrer, *Francis Younghusband and the Great Game* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), pp. 179-208. (in a chapter tellingly entitled, 'Younghusband digs his grave.')
[864] Alex McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, p. 41.
[865] https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1905/feb/14/address-in-reply-to-his-majestys-most. House of Lords, 14th February 1905, Vol. 141. C12 Accessed 25/02/2020
[866] Landon, *The Opening of Tibet*, p. 21.

assumed that each power was simply, and perpetually, attempting to increase their own influence. Power was, in this mercantilist presentation, relative to others, the increase in one Power came at the expense of another. This competition was not a flaw, just the natural order, and Landon was not interested in attempting to demonise or 'other' in Russian actions. Simply, the 'equally justifiable' competition of Britain and Russia was a natural part of the international order. The crisis over Tibet in 1903 came about for a completely legitimate conflict of interests as it was assumed that the state had to be under the influence of Britain, Russia or China. Simply put, the crisis was considered, by Landon and the establishment in India, as the result of Tibet trying to establish itself outside of Chinese suzerainty and upsetting the balance.[867] Concerned with the interference of Russia, but also unwilling to let China maintain too much influence, the British wanted an autonomous Tibet, but one that recognised British interests in the region. [868] The complications inherent in wanting an autonomous Tibet that was nevertheless, completely compliant with British interests, and which necessitated military intervention, was one of Landon's challenges in presentation. The government in London, especially, had been reluctant to sanction any expedition.

Landon emphasised the unknown and mysterious aspects of Tibet in much of his account of the expedition. He elaborated fulsomely upon the 'terrible incubus of priestly control' which the expedition had freed Tibet from as well as devoting much of the second volume to a description of a city hidden from sight, Lhasa.[869] Reviews, which often considered the number of accounts concerning Tibet such as *Lhasa and Its Mysteries* by L. A. Waddell; *The Unveiling of Lhasa* by E. Candler and *To Lhasa at Last* by Powell Millington, all of which, with Landon's, were published in 1905 alone.[870] Other members of the expedition, notably Captain William Frederick O'Connor and the leader of the expedition Frank Younghusband published on Tibet, these were *Folk Tales of Tibet* (1906) and *India and Tibet* (1910) respectively. This outpouring of works on Tibet, its uncovering and British attitudes and actions toward it were deeply concerned with revealing Tibet, and Lhasa in particular, as the titles of the books indicate. Peter H. Hansen has considered the perpetuation of this image of Tibet as a peculiarly mysterious and priestly place in the inter-war period. Cultural representations of Tibet in Britain remained

[867] Landon, *The Opening of Tibet*, p. 20.
[868] Simeon Koole, 'Photography as Event: Power, the Kodak Camera, and Territoriality in Early Twentieth-Century Tibet', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2017, 59 (2), p. 343.
[869] Landon, *The Opening of Tibet, Vol. I*. p. xii. This is something noted in reviews, particularly by *The Athenaeum*. Lhasa. *The Athenaeum*; Feb 25, 1905; 4035; British Periodicals pg. 231
[870] 'The Literature of the Mission to Lhasa*: Lhasa* by Perceval Landon; *Lhasa and Its Mysteries* by L. A. Waddell; *The Unveiling of Lhasa* by E. Candler; *To Lhasa at Last* by Powell Millington, Review by: D. W. F.', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (May 1905), pp. 551-554

unsophisticated, demeaning and inclined to raise 'that smile of kindly superiority which we generally assume when we see or hear of strange customs'.[871]

The interest in Russian intrigue and the justification for the expedition seems to have been greeted with scepticism by many in Britain. Reviews tended to recount the justified link to 'Dorjieff' and Russian influence sardonically, doubting the reasons for an expedition which seemed to have overstepped its authority.[872] The measuring of the Russian threat tended to shift depending on how close to India the British viewpoint was. Curzon was deeply concerned about Russian meddling in Central Asia. Conversely, the British government in Whitehall was slowly and begrudgingly persuaded that there was a threat, although not rating it particularly highly as well as worrying about alienating the Chinese.[873]

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Later in his career in the mid-1920s, Landon was motivated by the appearance of Nepal as another forbidden land. He attempted to transfigure Nepal as a similar frontier to Tibet, inaccessible and romantic. Travelling with the blessing of the Maharaja Marshal of Nepal who provided him with transport and aid such as access to archives, Landon was travelling through a 'forbidden land' in a far more comfortable way than in Tibet.[874]

There were similar and enduring restrictions on entry into Nepal as there were for Tibet, although the country was considered to be friendly to Britain despite this. In the aftermath of the First World War and the service of the Gurkhas, Landon and the British public were also intrigued by their legendary ferocity and loyalty. This combination of mystery, heroism and patriotism was an idea keenly pursued by the *Daily Telegraph*. Announcing the series of articles, "Unknown Nepal", which Landon later turned into a book, the paper emphasised the country's mystery, as 'almost unknown to Europeans'. Landon played up to this image of Nepal as exotic and forbidden, quoting Marco Polo on his title page, linking his explorations

[871] Sir Arthur Hintzel, the permanent under-Secretary of state for India in 1925. Quoted in Peter H. Hansen, The Dancing Lamas of Everest: Cinema, Orientalism, and Anglo-Tibetan relations in the 1920s', *American Historical Review*, June 1996, 101:3, p. 712.
[872] 'Lhasa: An Account of the Country and People of Central Tibet and ...' *The Edinburgh review*, 1802-1929; Apr 1905; 201, 412; British Periodicals p. 344; 'The Opening of Tibet, an Account of Lhasa and the Country and People of Central Tibet, etc. by Perceval Landon', *American Geographical Society*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1905), pp. 184-185
[873] McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, pp. 10-13.
[874] Perceval Landon, "Nepal." *Daily Telegraph*, 20 Jan. 1925, p. 5. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgTLX. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. Also see the thanks to the Maharaja in his acknowledgements, Landon, *Nepal*, pp. ix-x.

with this older voyage.[875] This nod towards history, and the similarities in their depiction of a country isolated and wild, created an image of continuity in Nepal itself as well as Western exploration. Landon was also emphasising the enduring fascination to his readers in Britain of Nepal as a land of mystery. Although playing on this aura of mystery, Landon was careful to note that this 'policy of exclusion' was 'endorsed by the Indian government' and so was allowed by British goodwill. The paper went on to emphasise how 'the loyalty of Nepal to the British throne is indicated by the voluntary raising, from its small population, of an army of 200,000 men for our assistance in the Great War.'[876] This loyalty was in implicit contrast with Tibet, thus explaining why British expeditions were not necessary in Nepal when they had been for Tibet. The Gurkhas formed the main subject of interest in reviews, with Landon's work often being paired with works which focussed more exclusively on the Gurkhas.[877] The combination of exoticism, skill and ferocity in battle, as well as supposed loyalty and friendship to Britain, made for a heady mix of attributes to British readers.

Landon proclaims, in the preface to *Nepal,* that his intention was to attempt, through recording the exploits of the Gurkhas and the 'record of an international friendship', to improve relations and understanding between the two countries.[878] The book chronicles the history of Anglo-Nepalese relations through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as, using the work of the French Orientalist, M. Levi, the earlier legendary history of Nepal.[879] This largely takes the form of legends recorded about Buddhism and the Nepalese Royals. A mysterious and legendary history was part of Nepal's appeal to Landon.

In his series of articles on Nepal, Landon emphasised this seclusion in a country which remains 'today much as it was in the seventh century'.[880] Nepal was characterised as timeless and isolated as a basic part of the country's identity and therefore unthreatening in the international politics of the area. This mysterious seclusion was emphasised, partially as a way of stimulating interest, but also because it could be built into an article of the Nepalese character. If isolation was 'faith not foible' in the Nepalese heart, then the British influence over the country was a

[875] 'This country is wild and mountainous and is little frequented by strangers whose visits the King discourages.' – Marco Polo, iii, 8.
[876] "Unknown Nepal." *Daily Telegraph*, 19 Jan. 1925, p. 9. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bFZd2. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.
[877] Malta and Cyprus by G. Peto; Nepal by Perceval Landon; The Gurkhas by W. Brook Northey and C. J. Morris, Review by: L. A. B., *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (Jan 1929), pp. 77-79
[878] Landon, *Nepal*, p. viii.
[879] Landon, *Nepal*, p. 11.
[880] "Nepal: The Land Forbidden." *Daily Telegraph*, 19 Jan. 1925, p. 5. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEWN7. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.

favour to it, in allowing this isolation to continue. Misty isolation, coupled with the emphasis on the voluntary aid of the Gurkhas during the First World War, meant that Nepal could be presented as fascinating, forbidden but still friendly. Instead of describing a military expedition into the country, Landon attempts 'to describe the physical features and more remarkable monuments of a country which is practically unknown'.[881] Nepal was a country of appealing historical interest because as he notes in his preface, 'alone among Asiatic Powers [Nepal] has never suffered either the galling triumph of the Moslem or the political and commercial results of Christian expansion'.[882]

Nepal represented in Landon's writings a country which he was keen to assert British interest in and influence over, but also one which was largely unthreatened by other imperial actors. The Russians were too far away for even the most fevered imperial imagination and the Chinese were reliably concerned with internal issues to be of much concern. As such, Landon's writings about Nepal, especially given the isolation which he emphasises, can be more concerned with internal matters. If it was assumed that 'entirely independent as she is, and yet entirely friendly to the British' then her importance in 'the general Southern Asiatic balance' could be considered in a positive light for Britain.[883]

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External threats and competition were not the only areas of peril for the empire in this great game. Domestic opposition to British rule in India often had an uncomfortable international dimension. India, and the 'unswerving policy of England' towards it was 'probably the brightest jewel in our crown' in Landon's estimation.[884] Although this was written at a time of unease, dissent and increasing opposition to British rule after the partition of Bengal, it represents his estimation of India and the value of British policy there. The constancy and purpose of Britain in India, represented as economically and geopolitically valuable in Landon's writings, was the bedrock of the British Empire. Most of his writing about India is clustered in the years, 1908-11 and 1921-4 when he returned with the entourage of the Prince of Wales and stayed on to continue reporting after the tour ended. As such, considerable amounts of this reportage, by all the journalists of the expedition, was directed towards the

[881] Perceval Landon, "Nepal." *Daily Telegraph*, 21 Jan. 1925, p. 5. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEkf3. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.
[882] Landon, *Nepal*, p. v.
[883] Landon, *Nepal*, p. ix.
[884] Landon, Perceval. "Indian Unrest." *Daily Telegraph*, 9 Nov. 1908, p. 8. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgUj1. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

explanation and direction of blame for the unrest in India.[885] The tour of the Prince of Wales through India in the 1920s was an attempt to take advantage of what John M. Mackenzie and Bernard Cohn have considered the opulence of the monarchy, its image of splendour and its role in presenting authority in British India.[886] Landon accompanied this tour, praising the influence of the Prince and denigrating the efficacy of Indian opposition and the Hartal strikes.[887] This tour, intended to charm and demonstrate the stability of British India was also conceived and presented internationally. As he put it in an article two years after this tour, 'Whatever the timid of heart may preach, India is by no means a lost Dominion'.[888] Nevertheless, it is the earlier example which proves most illuminating in how Landon reacted to opposition to British rule, especially in the aftermath of the Anglo-Russian Convention in 1908.

It was, in Landon's eyes, axiomatic that any grant of Home Rule to India would 'inevitably stir up communal strife from one end to the other' in Nepal. The links and influence which opposition to British rule in India would have across the border 'invests Nepal with an importance which it would be foolish to overlook.'[889] Nepal was a friendly power willing to supply 200,000 Gurkha troops for the First World War, soldiers whose ferocity and fighting ability was legendary within the British Army. The friendship of Nepal was represented as a bulwark against the loss of British power. The potential, and realisation, of organised and staunch opposition to British rule in India, which was recurrent from the early 1900s onwards, to spread was of deep concern to Landon. In late 1908 when unrest in India was threatening and spreading, Landon wrote a series of articles justifying the British position and belittling the potential and extent of the opposition. This was placed within an international context as it was felt necessary to disavow claims that there was any plausibility behind rumours of a Russian invasion.[890]

Opposition to British rule which took to the streets, vocally and angrily at this time, caused worry in imperialist circles that the vaunted British reputation for good governance would be

[885] Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, pp. 230-257.
[886] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 4. Bernard Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 185.
[887] Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, pp. 230-257 deals with the tour and its press context thoroughly
[888] Perceval Landon, "Punjab Affairs." *Daily Telegraph*, 8 Nov. 1924, p. 9-10. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgT51. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[889] Landon, *Nepal*, p. ix.
[890]Perceval Landon, "Unrest in India." *Daily Telegraph*, 26 Nov. 1908, p. 7. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWhY4. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

tarnished, diminishing its prestige. Landon, inverting this threat argued in an article subtitled, 'unrest no discredit to our rule', that the 'criticisms met with today are prompted by a national failing in the governed, and in no way a falloff in the standards we have raised.'[891] Instead, in a follow-up article, demonstrations were considered to be 'Brahmin agitation' unrest was the result of 'over-education' with no natural outlet. Thus, Landon simultaneously attempted to present opposition to British rule as sectional, elite, and the fact of its existence was largely a credit to the liberal aims of government in India.[892] Nevertheless, the mass of the population was characterised by 'apathy' and then, not content with the international dimension of British prestige, Landon points over the frontier. Accusing the 'Brahmin agitation' of encouraging Afghans and Pathans who are menacing India and are only being kept out by 'the steel fence of English sovereignty', Landon created an image of India beset by enemies, foreign and domestic.[893] In a further article solely devoted to this concern over invasion and security, Landon discussed the readiness of the army as well as the difficulties which would be faced by a Russian invasion. Emphasising, but only to dismiss fears, Landon presented a dramatic but empowering survey of British India. He argues the 'the whole Sikh scare is founded on a gross delusion' and that the threat of any repeat of 1857 was exaggerated, especially given Britain's modern guns and filed batteries. Dwelling on the worst-case scenarios, Landon evokes drama and fear in his readers whilst attempting to reassure that 'there has been a foolish tendency in some quarters to exaggerate the existing unrest' which is in reality 'of a purely civil nature and slow-moving'.[894] These articles, published between November and December of 1908, in the aftermath of his work with the Clive Memorial Fund, opposition to which was often based on Indian reaction and unrest, were an attempt to use the opposition to British rule to provoke interest and drama in it as well as to reassure the reader of British might and security. In a sleight of hand, threats became a moment to be reminded how strong the edifice of their rule was.

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[891] Perceval Landon, "Indian Unrest." *Daily Telegraph*, 9 Nov. 1908, p. 8. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgUj1. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[892] Perceval Landon, "Indian Unrest." *Daily Telegraph*, 17 Nov. 1908, p. 7. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgX84. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[893] Perceval Landon, "Indian Unrest." *Daily Telegraph*, 24 Nov. 1908, p. 13. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWgT4. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.
[894] Perceval Landon, "Unrest in India." *Daily Telegraph*, 26 Nov. 1908, p. 7. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWhY4. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

Unrest and opposition to British rule could, as in the case of India, be used by Landon and his fellow imperialists to legitimate British rule. The El Dorado which this rule could create was always just beyond the horizon.[895] There was a recurring depiction of the Middle East and 'Mesopotamia' as an area with vast potential, if only it was governed properly and treated with modern irrigation and agricultural techniques. Landon's articles and lectures on the Middle East, and more specifically, Southern Iraq, provide two mutually constitutive viewpoints. These presented this area as a frontier land in which the game for influence was played between Britain, Germany and Russia, and as a potential source of limitless bounty and wealth if British influence was realised. For Landon, firmly in Curzon's circle in imperial matters, the position he might take on 'Curzon's lake', as the Persian Gulf was known to some after his tour there in 1903, was staunch.[896]

Towards the end of 1908 Landon turned his gaze from India and began a tour of Central Asia and the Middle East. He began in the Persian Gulf, devoting time to the 'Crisis' there with the advance of the Bakhtiaris, a tribe from what is now Southwestern Iran, towards the capital, 'Teheran'. He continued North-East from the Gulf, passing through Samarkand and then returned to India.[897] Landon presented these articles in the wake of the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 which he fiercely condemned.[898] Arguing that the Caspian had thereby become 'a Russian lake', Landon criticised the British 'surrender' of Northern Persia, an area always far outside of British control, to Russian influence. Landon placed this in a wide imperial frame, worrying about how the loss of prestige this convention would have a detrimental effect on 'Asiatic' reasoning. There was beginning to be an assumption that 'if Russian can overawe us in the council; she can overawe us in the field'. In the Middle Eastern articles Landon was less condemnatory of British strength. Instead, in an attempt to coax and rouse the British to action, he argues that this is still in the balance. 'To us and Russia belong the present fate of Persia' he argued in an article on the 'Persian Crisis'.[899] Expanding on the positive British position in the area he writes that he met with 'unfailing courtesy' and argues

[895] Ann Matters, 'The British Mesopotamian El Dorado: the Restoration of the Garden of Eden' in *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias* ed by Andrekos Varnava (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 210 -228.
[896] John Fisher, *Curzon and British Imperialism in the Middle East, 1916-1919* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 294.
[897] See *Daily Telegraph*, 27th Oct, 1908; 25th Feb, 6th July and 23rd Nov, 1909
[898] Perceval Landon, "VIEWS ON THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT" *Fortnightly review*, May 1865-June 1934; Nov 1907; 82, 491; British Periodicals pg. [726]
[899] Perceval Landon, "Persian Crisis." *Daily Telegraph*, 25 Feb. 1909, p. 12. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWgB9. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

that British interests can be happily protected by the Bakhtiaris, whose Chief he met.[900] In the subsequent article he was supportive of the Bakhtiaris and praised their success, arguing that this was the best way to preserve British influence. He boasted that 'to be an Englishman is to this day a passport to their confidence and affection.' He praised the Bakhtiaris in the area and vaunted the special privileges of the English who were apparently considered to be the best Europeans, assumed to be 'sahibs' by these 'Asiatics'.[901] As the Ilkhani (Chief) of the Bakhtiaris considered constitutions 'foolishness', Landon approved of the evidence he saw in a new autocracy in Persia, vaunting his own personal connection with the powerful members of the Bakhtiaris.

The abiding background consideration was the depiction of the 'Great Game' in these articles and the evidence of English influence Landon found and displayed. Persia was a field of competing influence for Britain and Russia, the imperially minded Briton's traditional bugbear. This was especially the case for Anglo-Indian officials and those concerned with the defence of imperial India and there were numerous surveys and maps made of Arabia and the Persian Gulf made in the early part of the twentieth century.[902] But the Middle East was undergoing a transformation in its geopolitical significance in the years before the First World War. In Landon's consideration of the Middle East, the natural resources which have dominated subsequent Western commentary on this region become quickly apparent and he wrote in a congratulatory manner on the Englishmen who had secured a monopoly on the oil. The continuing debate concerning naval fuel was triumphantly secured in Landon's reckoning in this article smugly entitled 'the harvest of our foresight'.[903] Employing the overarching and global eye of the imperialist, Landon was evidently concerned by Russian encroachments in the region. But his journey from the Gulf, through Iran and Central Asia reassured him and he projects this reassurance with the authority of one who has visited, back to his readers in Britain. As Robert Fletcher has observed, before the First World War, most of the European presence in the region remained littoral. The British, despite the rhetoric from travellers and colonial writers in London about the potential of much of Iraq, struggled to maintain a presence; the

[900] Perceval Landon, "Persian Crisis." *Daily Telegraph*, 25 Feb. 1909, p. 12. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWgB9. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.
[901] Perceval Landon, "Crisis in Persia." *Daily Telegraph*, 6 July 1909, p. 9. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWeL1. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019
[902] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient: British Maps and the Making of the Middle East* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017), pp. 180-1
[903] Perceval Landon, "South-West Persia and the Gulf." *Daily Telegraph*, 27 Oct. 1908, p. 14. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8gWeD9. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

interior was an area of competing imperial interests, especially with Russia, but one that was dominated by the 'aridity and inscrutability' of its 'vast hinterlands'.[904]

The competition of influence which this 'vast hinterland' presented was often conceptualised through military manoeuvres. The shifting picture of Middle Eastern influence often lent itself to a game of the imagination, a Great Game, played between Great Powers shifting troops and presence around from afar. After the South African War, Edwardian interest in the military surged, an event often seen as 'a disaster narrowly averted and at great price', meant that Landon was feeding into strong national anxieties about Britain's military readiness. This particularly regarded the navy, although this was less of an aspect in Landon's writings, all of this fed into anxieties about Britain's position as a Great Power.[905] As competition in the Middle East intensified in the years immediately preceding and after the First World War, there was great interest in British influence in the region. This interest, particularly regarding troop movements meant that Landon's reporting became a topic of concern in 1913. Colonel Douglas objected to the India Office about his reference to troop movements after the Kazerun incident.[906] This altercation in Southern Persia left 7 dead, wounded the Consul, Mr Smart, and a company of cavalry was attacked near Dehbeed in Iran. This led to discussions in the House of Commons about the 'insecurity of life and property of British subjects in Southern Persia'.[907] Landon was not specifically named, and Colonel Douglas may have been more concerned about the criticisms of his conduct that were repeatedly levelled at him in a series of articles, by Landon, on the crisis and 'Persia in 1912'. Landon, in discussing British prestige in the Middle East, derisively mentioned the Central Indian Horse being trapped in Shiraz as being an episode which was giving 'Mubarak another Chuckle'.[908] Seen through the prism of rivalry with Russia, the *Daily Telegraph* also ran an article from its correspondent in St. Petersburg on Russian troop movements, quoting the Reuters telegram on the movements of Colonel Douglas

[904] Robert S. G. Fletcher, *British Imperialism and 'the Tribal Question:' Desert Administration and Nomadic Societies in the Middle East, 1919-1936* (Oxford, Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015), p. 4.
[905] Anne Summers, 'Edwardian Militarism' in *Patriotisms: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, ed by Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 236-256. Also see, Mackenzie, ed. *Popular Imperialism and the Military* as well as, more recently and with a particular link to the Navy, Jan Ruger, 'Nation, Empire and Navy: Identity Politics in the United Kingdom 1887-1914', *Past & Present*, No. 185 (Nov., 2004), pp. 159-187
[906] Cambridge University Library: Archives and Modern Manuscripts: Crewe I.13.4. See the *Daily Telegraph*, 28th Dec 1911, pp. 11 & 14 which featured three articles on the incident and the actions of Colonel Douglas. There are further reports on 29th Dec 1911 and 4th Jan 1912.
[907] https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1913/mar/25/british-interests-in-southern-persia-1. Hansard. HC Deb, 25 March, 1913, vol 50, cc1489-527 Accessed 25/02/2020
[908] Perceval Landon, "Persia in 1912." *Daily Telegraph*, 4 Apr. 1912, p. 13. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/982yy6. Accessed 14 Feb. 2019

and Mr Smart, being escorted back to Kazerun.[909] The picture in the Middle East may be one of irresolution and chaos, but it is one in which Landon calls for action. The government was not backing the 'man on the spot' who could, with a firmer hand, even here beyond the confines of the empire, make a difference. This lack of resolution, 'is a danger to the empire and must be stopped'.[910]

Landon expanded on this theme of British influence, both military and commercial, in the Persian Gulf in a lecture given to the Royal Society of Arts, 'Basra and the Shatt ul-Arab' in 1915. British forces were fighting in the Middle East during this time and there was a great increase in interest in the region. Deprecating the telling interest in the 'Messrs Lynch and other merchants' in Basra who are 'almost the only part of Basra which demands political attention' Landon calls attention to the geopolitical significance of the Gulf as one of the 'outer gates of India'. Appropriately for the time, Landon replaced the menace to the British in the region from Russia, to 'Prussia', retrospectively arguing that this is what Lord Curzon, who was in the audience and had introduced him, had been combatting as Viceroy.[911] Landon summed up British interest in the region in this lecture with a ringing endorsement of British power and the protection of India,

> we have to protect much more than our material interests. Prestige is a vague and sometimes misused word; and at this moment I will not use it. But if we wish to protect India, we must protect the gates of India. And if – as I hold – the Shatt ul Arab is one of the outer gates of India, we must hold the Shatt ul Arab and as much of the land behind it as may be necessary for that purpose. If we do that, we may let the question of our prestige rest for the next half-century.[912]

The Persian Gulf and Arabia were presented primarily in their traditional terms by Landon in the years before the close of the First World War as of importance due to India. Emphasising the continued improvement of the Gulf which the British had been undertaking for 'more than a century', the Gulf, and Basra which controls it, could be called, 'the solar plexus of the world'. It could not be left open to attack, a 'postern gate' to the East from which the Germans could

[909] A Correspondent. "Russia and Persia." *Daily Telegraph,* 5 Jan. 1912, p. 10. *The Telegraph Historical Archive*, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9Gj594. Accessed 27 Feb. 2019.
[910] Perceval Landon, "Persia in 1912." *Daily Telegraph,* 4 Apr. 1912, p. 13. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/982yy6. Accessed 14 Feb. 2019.
[911] 'Basra and the Shatt ul Arab', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* Vol. 63, No. 3257 (APRIL 23, 1915), pp. 505-519
[912] *Basra and the Shatt ul Arab - Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* Vol. 63, No. 3257 (APRIL 23, 1915), p. 514

threaten India. Despite the presence and British control of the Suez canal, Landon presented a common military concern about defending posts by holding outer posts, a position satirised and bemoaned by Lord Salisbury who criticised Generals who would 'fortify the moon against an attack from Mars.'[913] Nevertheless, Landon's analysis, in this speech and elsewhere, was emphasising the 'Forward' school of imperial thinking, advocating expanding British interests in the area to protect British interests, as well as secure 'benign administration' for them.

This proprietary argument for improvement was expanded in a lecture on 'Central Mesopotamia' the following year.[914] Landon maintained that the introduction of new and improved irrigation techniques could turn 'Mesopotamia into a second and greater Egypt' creating an abundance of agricultural goods for export. Landon, following the pre-war proposals for irrigation made by Sir William Willcocks to the Royal Geographical Society in 1909, argued that 'nothing is more certain in Mesopotamia than change' except the 'eternal and primitive character of the inhabitants' alongside this modernisation.[915] For many imperialists imagining Biblical and Classical allusions to this area, Mesopotamia, an area which roughly covered modern Southern Iraq rather than just the area between the two rivers, could represent a new Garden of Eden. Alongside his exhortations to fear the influence of the Germans and the Russians, Landon provided a civilising and modernising narrative. Ending his speech to the Central Asian Society with a ringing and rousing endorsement of British improvement, Landon argues that, 'during the next few years, we may be sure that the treasure chest of this great land will, within a few years, have been opened by English hands.'[916] Landon represented the area as a largely empty, in terms of direct political and colonial control, area for geopolitical competition. But the Middle East also represented an 'El Dorado' and new 'Garden of Eden' as Ann Matters has argued. The agricultural potential and the irrigation which could be applied led to rapturous evaluations of the area's potential in some imperialist circles.[917]

But information about the region, and the influence of different countries was eagerly sought after for the Middle East. Perceval Landon, having written widely on 'Persia' in 1911 and 1912

[913] Lord Salisbury – Sir Evelyn Baring, Feb 5th 1892. Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury, vol. III 1880-1886* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931), p. 218; *The Spectator*, 'The Indian Frontier', 2nd May, 1908, pp. 4-5
[914] Perceval Landon, 'Central Mesopotamia', *Journal of Central Asian Studies*, vol. 3., 19th January, 1916.
[915] William Willcocks, 'Mesopotamia: Past, Present, and Future', *Geographical Journal*, 35 (1), 1910. Quoted in Matters, 'The British Mesopotamian El Dorado', p. 210.
[916] Perceval Landon, 'Central Mesopotamia', *Journal of Central Asian Studies*, vol. 3., 19th January, 1916.
[917] Matters, 'The British Mesopotamian El Dorado', pp. 210-228.

was considered an expert in Britain.[918] The purpose of articles about the British presence in Iraq such as Landon's were seen as having an impact on opinion, especially in America. During the First World War, the value of this expertise increased. Lord Beaverbrook, as Minister of Information, objected to the War Cabinet about the veto from the Eastern Committee in 1918 to sending Landon 'who knows the country well' to 'Mesopotamia', 'without alleging any reason'.[919] Beaverbrook wanted Landon to 'collect and prepare such material with a view of making use of it in America, both in the press and on the platform'. Beaverbrook cited the 'strong interest' that America was beginning to show in the region as reason for seeing it as of competitive advantage for Britain to become better informed. Mesopotamia was an area with 'great economic possibilities' and 'strategical importance for the peace of Asia', especially as 'German influence is busily at work in the remotest quarters of the East'.[920] This scheme was quashed by Percy Cox and the British officials in Basra and Baghdad. As Cox put it, 'I quite agree that he is unsuitable; so does Mark Sykes who knows him' and he was unwilling to accept responsibility for a roving journalist.[921] But it is revealing of the aims of new departments trying to manipulate opinion on the empire in Britain and abroad. The reporting of military movements and influence in this way was another integral part of how the empire was presented through military interest and geopolitical calculation spiced with heroics.[922]

The improvements of British imperialism could be applied and British power and influence augmented. The deserts of Southern Iraq suggested 'inefficiency, laziness, and bad government' to British imperialists.[923] In other words, it was an incitement to colonial modernisation. The mythmaking of 'Mesopotamia' as a potential land of milk and honey was one in which Landon only played a part, although it is notable that one of his political heroes, Lord Curzon, described the occupation of Basra by British forces in November 1914, five months before Landon's first speech, as a 'desert which may again blossom as the rose'.[924] Economic utopianism worked to legitimate Britain's part in the game of influence utilising biblical cultural attachment as well

[918] A series of articles, 'Persia in 1912' written by Landon came out in the *Daily Telegraph* on 25th March and 2nd, 4th and 23rd April 1912.
[919] Parliamentary Archives, BBK_3_8, Memorandum to the War Cabinet by the Minister of Information, 22nd July 1918; LG/F/4/5/35 Beaverbrook, Min of information to the Prime Minister
[920] Parliamentary Archives, BBK_3_8, Memorandum to the War Cabinet by the Minister of Information, 22nd July 1918
[921] British Library, IOR/L/PS/11/136, P 2518/1918
[922] John M. Mackenzie, ed. *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)
[923] E. Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 81.
[924] A.T. Wilson, *Loyalties: Mesopotamia, 1914-1917* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 103.

as the appealing image of the Garden of Eden. Despite this uplifting message about the potential of British imperialism, the primary emphasis in Landon's writings and speeches was to remind his audience and readers, reflecting a common military paranoia, of the importance of the area as a route to India. This threat had to be represented as a vital link in the wider British Empire, of vital importance, but also as defensible in terms of the British war effort.

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China during the mid-1920s brought together the themes of worries over the imperial frontier, international imperial competition, and opposition to British presence in Landon's writings. The western presence in Treaty ports and in international legations, coupled with the influence which a country of China's size and population inevitably had in Asia, meant that it always provoked anxiety, albeit of an often-uncertain character, in Britain.[925] After the First World War the European concert that had held together interests in China, was broken.[926] This intra-European conflict, and crucially, lack of co-operation between the Powers, eroded their standing, although it was still often violently defended. In the face of Chinese reform and Japanese militarism, the European game in China was being overshadowed. Reporting as these tensions were building, Landon's writing reflects the anxieties of the British in China in the face of diminishing power, and not understanding the competition that was usurping them. As Robert Bickers has put it, 'Britain in China was rooted in the mind'. There was an established convention of what China was in domestic British thought, albeit not over-riding ones in domestic circles. But there were certainly preconceptions that even a writer in the Far East for twenty years, would have had, stepping off the boat in China.[927]

In June 1925, The *Daily Telegraph* reported that 'Mr. Perceval Landon, the writer of this article, has recently returned from China where he was in close touch with the leading men of the country.'[928] In this Landon firmly places himself in support of Marshal Wu Pei Fu, with whom he stayed in Loyang, proudly declaring that, 'he is one of the best educated and clearest-headed men in the Celestial Republic'. Landon soon returned to China, reporting more widely on the developing Civil War. Nevertheless, Landon's position was spelt out in this article. Landon

[925] Ross G. Forman, *China and the Victorian Imagination: Empires Entwined* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2013), pp. 3-4.
[926] Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914* (London: Penguin, 2011), p. 373.
[927] Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900-1949* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 1999), p. 22.
[928] Perceval Landon, "The Chinese Chaos." *Daily Telegraph*, 8 June 1925, p. 11+. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEJS7. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.

argues that the turmoil in China was making it into an arena of international competition and worries about the status of the Treaty ports as well as the encroaching influence of Russia.

Unrest, riots, and anti-western feeling, especially in the Treaty ports was leading to paranoia amongst the British. Landon, staying in the Foreign Legation in 'Peking', reported with a mixture of imperialist condescension over the current state of modern China, whilst also indulging in paranoia over 'Red Propaganda'.[929] In the 1920s worries over the international influence of Soviet Russia was widespread and it linked well with the longstanding British fear of Russia's imperial ambitions. China's civil war, as well as the progressive imperial depredations of the nineteenth century meant that it was often depicted as an arena of competing foreign influences. The threat of a lessening willingness to acquiesce in the western presence in China provoked a strong line from Landon, especially given the spectre of Russian communism. Playing upon memories of the Boxer rebellion, Landon argued that 'he would indeed be a bold Chinese who would take upon himself to head a new rising against the foreigners' with dark menace he notes that the West has 'always shown themselves capable of defending themselves'.[930] Immediately after noting Japan's interest in China who were asserting that they were the power 'most deeply concerned' in the ongoing crisis, Landon reasserts British interests in Hong Kong and goes on to discuss the manner in which the powers could ensure Chinese co-operation in the abolition of the "likin" tax.[931] As with his commentary upon Indian opposition to British rule, the demonstrations in China were presented both as unsettling and dramatic, but allowed a confident re-assertion of the British position.

Thankfully, Landon reassured his readers, China was revolting against the intrigues of Russia and remaining amiable to British intentions.[932] Landon felt confident in subtitling an article on 'Chinese Chaos' with 'Situation improving' and 'Reaction against Russia' in a bid to emphasise the security of the British position in China.[933] The anti-western riots were, he argued, led by students for whom, 'it is only charitable to assume they were paid for a day's work of such unpatriotic folly'. Opposition was belittled, and Landon blamed the twenty killed in this demonstration upon the 'truculence' of the students involved, commending the 'extreme

[929] Perceval Landon, "Chinese Chaos." *Daily Telegraph*, 6 Feb. 1926, p. 11. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEDu2. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.
[930] Perceval Landon, "The Chinese Chaos." *Daily Telegraph*, 8 June 1925, p. 11+. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEJS7. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.
[931] Landon, "China's Crisis"
[932] Perceval Landon, "China's Revolt against Bolshevik Intrigue." *Daily Telegraph*, 20 Mar. 1926, p. 11. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8Mj5n3. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[933] Perceval Landon, "Chinese Chaos." *Daily Telegraph*, 6 Feb. 1926, p. 11. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8bEDu2. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018.

patience' of the police and troops.[934] Landon writes of the pervasive threat of Russian and 'Red propaganda' but, whilst evidently aiming to alarm and maintain British interest in China, Landon is primarily concerned to reassure readers of the security and might of the British imperium.

The exciting appeal and thrills to a British readership of the civil war that was raging in China was coupled in Landon's reporting, as well as that of many Western journalists, with the mournful picture of a fallen imperial power. In an article which draws heavily on notions of Kublai Khan and the myths of the 'Forbidden City', Landon records that 'now all that remains is the empty shell of the most magnificent court of modern times'.[935] Reporting from China, Landon was also concerned to make his reporting create an intriguing picture of Chinese architecture, its famous sites and scenery. Landon attempts to 'paint the picture of a foreign place' in such a way that holds the interest of the readers. This imaginative journey takes the reader on a rickshaw through the city to the Temple of Heaven which Landon then uses to discuss the parlous state of modern China.[936] Life in 'Peking' is going on as usual in Landon's writings at the end of 1925, and he is recording the 'plain and not unpleasant facts' of life in the city, despite the Civil War.[937]

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Landon was a wide-ranging correspondent who played a considerable part in the presentation of the empire and the 'Far East' to a lay, if well-educated and largely middle-class, audience. Running through all of these representations, from China to the Middle East and India, was the prominence of international, European context. Landon was interested to present the Empire to the British public as under threat and in competition with 'Great Powers' across the globe. Frontier lands were primarily of interest because of this competitive angle and it is this geopolitical aspect to his depiction of each country, which formed a thread through his writings. Landon presented and publicised a form of imagining empire as a competition with few permitted serious players. The Great Powers were the only ones who mattered and other countries provided little more than the picturesque backdrop to these international duels.

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[934] Perceval Landon, "China's Revolt against Bolshevik Intrigue." *Daily Telegraph*, 20 Mar. 1926, p. 11. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8Mj5n3. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[935] Perceval Landon, "Peking." *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Dec. 1925, p. 12. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8MgVu1. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[936] Perceval Landon, "Peking." *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Nov. 1925, p. 11+. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8Mjut8. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.
[937] Perceval Landon, "Life in Peking." *Daily Telegraph*, 10 Dec. 1925, p. 11. The Telegraph Historical Archive, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8Mj6F6. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

Conclusion

Perceval Landon played a major part in the expansion of reporting on India and the Far East. With imperial advocacy of this nature, Landon was working in a newspaper context at *The Times, Daily Mail* and *Daily Telegraph* which was solidly conservative and imperialist and becoming increasingly so. Nevertheless, Landon's presentation of everything he saw, from Isfahan and the deserts of the Middle East to Loyang, China, was developed through the prism of Britain and its interests. The empire was competition with other powers and worries about influence and position. Travelling across and beyond the empire, Landon had an expertise that was useful and intriguing to much of London's elite society, which he used in lectures, articles and books on his frequent returns. This was his pass into elite policy-making circles, he had travelled widely and could be considered an authority, with the patronage of elite figures like Lord Curzon.

This chapter has argued that Perceval Landon as an imperialist foreign correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* promoted the empire through his presentation of it as an arena of competing powers. Frontiers in an age of expanding and competing empires were areas of great tension and paranoia. Landon explored these on the edges of the British Raj and presented himself as an expert on these contested areas. Threats to British possessions and prestige allowed Landon to employ a tactic of dramatic description concerning threats to the British position, whilst also boasting of British strength. This elision, vividly describing threats in order to emphasise the strength of the imperial power was, and is, a favourite tactic of much of the right-wing press. Landon widely employed this tactic, especially in India, as a way of presenting the imperial position in Britain. But the roving reporting to which Landon devoted his life also presented a more calmly confident picture of the reach of the British Empire. Here, in countries from Iran to Tibet, it was a field for the presentation of British interests and endeavour. Frontiers were represented, not as places between Britain and Tibet, or countries in the Middle East, but between competing 'Great Powers', most commonly Britain and Russia, jostling for influence.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has considered elite imperial discourse in Britain during 1880-1930 through the lives of four empire enthusiasts. These individuals have each shed light on a different theme and expression of imperial writing and thought: the media-political nexus of colonial writing the romanticisation of the exotic empire, the vision of settler colonies as part of land reform, and the militarist expression of empire and its links to the imperial frontier. Considered side by side they reveal more than if considered individually. As a group they were elite imperial experts and communicators. They were listened to within their spheres in the media and government, and they contributed to the elite imperial culture of Britain and the metropolis through this.

The strength of this individual focus within a broadly defined form of group biography is in digging deeper into each of these themes. The roundness of individual lives precludes the generalisations of a singular focus on a theme. They interacted with themes but also pursued other aims in their lives. Each figure here, although they prized the imperial mission, offers a broader perspective on the personal investment in empire. For instance, as was argued in the first chapter, Flora Shaw used tours of the broad expanses of the settler colonies to stretch the boundaries of what was acceptable for a woman whilst also, by her own writings, reinforcing those boundaries. Empire could be tied, like a religion, into the identity of its enthusiasts, a cause to believe in, a stage to work on, and for a time, a home to live in. Individual case studies also reveal the different approaches smoothed out by many histories. Shaw's approach to Greater Britain, especially as she became more interested in West Africa after 1897 and her subsequent marriage to Frederick Lugard, is revealing of a less white vision of the empire. This integrationist vision, largely through the power of economics, was competing, especially in South Africa, with predominant racial views, but Shaw was attempting to proffer a different idea of empire, albeit within a strict, implicit, power dynamic.

Generationally, these individuals also form a cohort in some respects. They came to prominence between the late 1880s and the early 1900s and their influence and heyday was over by the close of the First World War. Each remained interested in imperialism in the years after the Great War however, and it does not appear to have been transformative for them. In terms of imperial writing and promotion, each figure maintained their faith in their vision of it. New concerns appeared, particularly the spectre of Bolshevism as well as unrest in Ireland. But their panaceas for these ills remained the same. Together the individuals form a cohort

indicative of the increased imperial consciousness of their early adulthood in the 1870s and 80s, particularly within their particular class and family backgrounds. As has been noted, the generational point is striking, leading to soubriquets like the "Age of Empire", but this can be over-emphasised. It was the incidence of their generation along with their political conservatism, their middle to upper-class backgrounds, their presence within imperially aware families, as well as formative opportunities in the empire, which were so crucial in creating these imperial enthusiasts. Social, media, and work contexts, as well as personal ambition, created imperial enthusiasts.

The manner in which figures in literary and media circles acted as imperial experts to promote the empire was one of the central research questions in this thesis and constitutes its main contribution to knowledge. The use of this expertise to occasionally emphasising the reversal of the direction of tutelage, where Britain and the West should learn from India or the amaZulu, is also apparent in the writings of Flora Annie Steel and Henry Rider Haggard, although these lessons are used very selectively and subjectively. The position of the imperial expert, and who could be considered one, the question of whose views on empire were accorded respect, has in this thesis, elucidated the processes of elite media and literary imperial discourse in Britain and its interchanges with the empire. The threshold for imperial expertise was low and could be performed through the trappings of imperial travel as well as evidence of being in sympathy with, or having spoken to, the 'men on the spot.' It has also attempted to explore how these self-proclaimed imperial experts focused on particular issues to imperialise debates around masculinity, character virtues, and land reform to promote their case. Each figure, as has been shown in each chapter, arrogated the aura of expertise to themselves in the metropolitan arena. This boosted their authority and seems to have been respected by their audiences.

The nexus between press and politics reinforced the conception of elite support for the empire supported through highbrow newspapers as the first chapter in particular argues. Flora Shaw, as Colonial Editor for *The Times*, used the information exchange, particularly with the Colonial Office, to promote her vision of imperialism. Contact between highbrow newspapers and the government was frequent, and well-connected journalists like Flora Shaw could gain access to a considerable amount of information from contacts within departments.[938] This interchange of personnel and ideas between the press and colonial circles, is also reinforced in chapter four

[938] James Thompson, 'The Political Press' in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2: Expansion and Evolution 1800-1900* ed by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 538.

with Perceval Landon. Although Landon was less successful than Shaw, his connections with Lord Roberts in South Africa and Lord Curzon in India were notable and did benefit his career.

The imperial positioning of Indian history, and the British place within it, was a considerable component of a push towards to making the Indian Empire a more prominent part of the population's conception of empire. Flora Annie Steel's role in this publicity was crucial and widespread as has been explored in the second chapter. Indian history, despite the imputation of timelessness to Indian life, was a burgeoning subject at the close of the nineteenth century. For a land imbued with romance, as Steel and many in Britain considered India to be, this history was a space where the fears and hopes of empire could be played out. Perceval Landon, as chapter four shows, also promoted this historical role for the British in India as conquerors inheriting the crown from the Mughal Emperors. Landon worked hard to memorialise the British founders of empire in India, particularly Robert Clive.

The position of the land in the British economy and the rapid urbanisation of the last quarter of the nineteenth century lent considerable anxiety to the issue of land reform. This had considerable imperial connotations, especially after the turn of the century as debates about imperial assisted emigration gathered pace. As discussed in the third chapter Henry Rider Haggard played a prominent role in this debate, pushing the notion of settling land in the settler colonies to alleviate urban squalor and overcrowding. Flora Shaw, as indicated in the first chapter, was also a proponent of emigration, although she was less tied to a land-based ideal through which to imagine this. This was an ideal which cut across much of the arguments in this thesis being cross-class and speaking, albeit very differently, to both genders. Emigration, and the lure of settling new lands, was one of the keystones of imperial writing, even amongst elite audiences.

Through his support for commemorations for the British veterans of 1857 and the memorial fund for Robert Clive 'of India' in 1907, Landon promoted a martial notion of British imperialism. Chapter four explored this martial presentation of empire and its understanding in Britain. The geopolitical role of competing empires was a nationalistically appealing aspect and Landon, through articles and books from the frontiers and beyond empire, presented the 'Great Game' as something which would sell newspapers and books, and appeal to a wide audience.

The manner in which this martial vision of empire could be tied to masculinity has also been explored, both in the masculine voice which Shaw assumed at *The Times* and the vision Rider

Haggard had of healthy and vigorous settlers creating stronger frontiers for the British Empire. Each chapter has considered the idea of what attributes an imperial individual needed. These were important variations upon oft-considered ideas of character in Britain. Empire revealed hopes for raising the character of its participants, as well as testing it in extremis. But it also called for a sharper edge than the refined character which was praised in Britain. This is where notions of the imperial barbarian came to the fore as has been explored in chapters three and four.

This thesis, and notions of imperial Britain more widely, presents numerous avenues for further research. The empire was conceptualised very differently for different classes, occupations and regions, and its promotion touched upon many areas of British life. One area that has been touched upon in this thesis, notions of the land, cuts across much of this. In an ever-increasingly environmentally aware age, I would like to interrogate these ideas of land reform, imperial emigration, and the relationship to the land and nature at the turn of the twentieth century. This was a period of time in which notions of what the English landscape was and ought to look like was being constructed, and the imperial landscape fed into this in underexamined ways.[939] But also, in Britain, there was a growing, cross-class awareness of the use of the land as a site for leisure activity, as something to be protected and managed, as well as something to be lived upon for the health of the British race. The imperial dimensions to this, as a way of thinking about Britain's place in a world and its duty to the natural basis on which that stands, remains to be examined.

Overall, this thesis has explored elite imperial discourse in literature, the media, and public debate within Britain. It has tackled questions of the prominence of imperialism within personal lives and has attempted to create an image of individuals who moved in similar circles and worked towards various imperial goals. Conscious imperial boosting was prevalent in the nexus of press and politics, the literary world, and the campaigners who surrounded the political world of this period. These individuals attempted, with varying success, to promote their different views of the empire, influence elite imperial discourse and policy-making, and encourage its popularity. They did so through their own campaigns for versions of Greater Britain, Britain's place in India, and how Britain's memory of its imperial history should be formed. Taken together these four figures also represent a consideration of how imperial communicators acted within Britain. Speaking mainly to an elite audience although Flora

[939] Paul Readman, *Storied Ground: Landscape and the Shaping of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 15.

Annie Steel and Rider Haggard spoke beyond this, they attempted to influence imperial policy, imperial debate within elite spaces like *The Times*, and push forward their interpretations of the empire. Imperial enthusiasts worked and lived within networks of fellow advocates in Britain's media, literary, and political worlds. This is where they found their patrons, enlisted the help of contacts and debated their ideas. The imperial figures considered here operated outside of formal imperial institutions and societies, and they represent a prominent site for opinion forming on empire in imperial Britain. For them, and many others during this period, the empire represented an amorphous idea onto which they could project, it was a re-paintable canvas, and a malleable landscape for their dreams and hopes for the future.

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